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HORATIANA (*continued*).

Serm. I 2 77—82.

Ne paeniteat te,
desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.
nec magis huic inter niueos uiridisque lapillos
(sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum) tenerum est femur aut crus
rectius; atque etiam melius persaepe togatae.

This reading of the great majority of MSS seems to admit only the punctuation given above: 'sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum' must be a parenthesis. But the relevance or even the meaning of the parenthesis is not discoverable. Reisig and others say 'haec tua res sit, hoc tibi relinquo'; but what is 'hoc' and 'haec res'? Not a predilection for bejewelled matrons: that meaning, as Bentley says and Kiessling the latest editor agrees, 'ex uerbis auctoris nullis tormentis elici nulloque iure subintellegi potest'. A passion for wearing jewellery? of this Bentley says the same, I think with equal justice; but even if the sense be possible it is ludicrously irrelevant: 'a common woman is as good as a matron who wears jewels, although

Cerinthus, who is neither a matron nor a common woman, wears jewels too'! Let us therefore try next the reading found in a few MSS, attested by Cruquius' commentator and approved by Bentley:

> nec magis huic, inter niueos uiridisque lapillos
> sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur eqs.

that is 'nec huic matronae, licet sit inter niueos uiridisque lapillos, hoc (=ideo) femur magis tenerum est tuo, o Cerinthe'. Dillenburger, one of those editors with whom everything is postponed to the duty of resisting Bentley, improvises the objection 'non posse Latine dici *sit licet inter lapillos* pro *licet ornata sit lapillis*'. He is mistaken, for Livy cited by Kiessling has IX 17 'Darium...inter purpuram et aurum, oneratum fortunae apparatibus suae,...deuicit'; but the noteworthy point is this, the objection rests on the entirely gratuitous assumption that the subject of 'sit' is 'matrona': obviously there is no reason whatever why the subject should not be 'femur', in which case 'inter lapillos' is correct in Bentley's reading if in Dillenburger's, solecistic in Dillenburger's if in Bentley's. But there are other objections of very different weight. This reading supposes Cerinthus to be, as Porphyrion says he was, a 'prostibulum insignis speciei atque candoris': well then, femur Cerinthi will be tenerrimum, crus Cerinthi will be rectissimum; so it becomes not only pointless but senseless to say, by way of disparaging matrons, that femur matronae is not magis tenerum, that crus matronae is not rectius. Further, can one conceive anything more perverse than that Cerinthus, a third term of comparison, should be introduced at all? The question in hand is the relative desirability of the *matrona* and the *togata*; and if reason is to hold her seat 'magis tenerum' must mean 'magis tenerum quam togatae'. Cerinthus then must carry his insignis species back to Porphyrion and permit Horace to write sense:

> nec magis huic, inter niueos uiridisque lapillos
> sit licet aesque, Corinthe, tuum, tenerum est femur aut crus rectius; atque etiam melius persaepe togatae.

The *togata* is as good as the *matrona* despite the latter's jewellery and ornaments of the costly alloy known as *aes Corinthium*. The alteration may look formidable at first, but every step of it is easy: *aesquecorinthe* passed through *eccecerinthe* to *hoccerinthe* by mistakes of the commonest sort. I have illustrated the confusion of *ae* with *e* and of *e* with *o* on carm. I 12 35, 36, the confusion of *qu* with *c* on carm. II 2 2: it remains only to say that the addition or removal of the aspirate is in MSS like ours absolutely negligible, and that the interchange of *s* and *c* is among the earliest of all corruptions, as Ribbeck's Virgil will abundantly prove. It may be added that one of the Blandinian MSS (we do not know which) had *haec* for *hoc*, which may seem to speak in my favour. Perhaps the *tuo* of two among Holder's MSS and the *tu.m* of a third, for the *tuum* of the majority, point to *tuom* in the archetype.

It may be objected to my history of the corruption that all these changes would hardly occur before the date of Porphyrion, who attests *Cerinthe*. True; but remember that we cannot possibly tell how much of the farrago now going under Porphyrion's name was really written by the 3rd century commentator. A good deal is demonstrably of far later date; and as I have shewn, I hope, that there is no place for Cerinthus in the text of Horace, I may lawfully assume that this person is a late invention. Collections of scholia, more than any other kind of work, are thus expanded in transcription.

Serm. I 3 38—42.

> Illuc praeuertamur, amatorem quod amicae
> turpia decipiunt caecum uitia aut etiam ipsa haec
> delectant, ueluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.
> uellem in amicitia sic erraremus et isti
> errori nomen uirtus posuisset honestum.

Mr Kiessling paraphrases 'die Moral (*uirtus*) hat dafür nicht wie sie sollte eine lobende Bezeichnung, sondern tadelt es als κολακεία'. The obvious comment on this interpretation is that if 'die Moral' acts otherwise than 'wie sie sollte' it ceases to be 'die Moral'. But further, it is clear that 'uirtus'

is quite the wrong word for the place: to call foibles by pretty names is no function for 'uirtus' or for 'die Moral' either. Other editors avoid this difficulty by mistranslating the word. Thus Prof. Palmer renders 'uirtus' by 'good feeling'; but he will I am sure admit when challenged that 'uirtus' never means anything of the sort, least of all in the passage which he adduces as parallel, carm. II 2 17 sqq. Indeed Horace seems to have written those lines on purpose to refute this interpretation: 'redditum Cyri solio Phrahaten | dissidens plebi numero beatorum | eximit uirtus *populumque falsis* | *dedocet uti* | *uocibus*': there you see the very office of 'uirtus' is to strip away false notions and names: dare you then invite her to ponere nomen honestum errori? Besides, if we allow 'uirtus' to mean 'good feeling', no sense results; for good feeling *does* ponere nomen honestum isti errori, and Horace cannot without absurdity say that he regrets it has not done so What he could, should, and doubtless did say, is that he regrets good feeling is not more widely diffused, or in other words that he regrets *custom* or *society* has not assigned a nomen honestum isti errori. This sense is restored by Peerlkamp's 'uita imposuisset': 'uita', as he says and the lexicons will prove, is 'consuetudo uulgaris, mos uiuendi, agendi, loquendi'; 'apud alios scriptores *uita decreuit, agnoscit, desueuit, dubitauit* hoc uel illud facere'. But the proposed change is serious and not necessary; for the same meaning may be introduced by altering no more than one letter:

> uellem in amicitia sic erraremus et isti
> errori nomen uictus posuisset honestum.

Cicero and others use 'uita uictusque' in this sense: I have no clear instance of 'uictus' alone for 'mos uiuendi', and I doubt if a prose writer would so use it; but that is just the difference between prose and verse: it is only in poetry that verbal nouns enjoy the width of meaning to which they are entitled by patrimony. The letters *c* and *r*, I know not why, are confused as early as Virgil's capital MSS; but apart from that there is always a perilous likeness between two words which agree in five letters and differ only in the sixth.

Serm. I 3 99—105.

Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
pugnabant armis, quae post fabricauerat usus,
donec uerba, quibus uoces sensusque notarent,
nominaque inuenere; dehinc absistere bello,
oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges.

I imagine no one has read v. 103 without silently wondering why it is that 'uoces', instead of being coupled with their synonyms 'uerba' and 'nomina' as a means of expression, are coupled with 'sensus' as if they were something requiring to be expressed. The commentators dissimulate their amazement as well as they can: Mr Palmer writes '*uerba, ῥήματα*, articulate words, with which men gave meaning and shape to *uoces*, the inarticulate sounds of the savage voice'; but he will not seriously maintain that 'notare' means 'to give meaning and shape'. Astonishing, however, as the sentence appears at first sight, that is nothing to what remains behind. Horace is here reproducing not merely the famous history given by Lucretius of the origin of society, but the very terms in which Lucretius gave it. Lucretius writes V 1041 sqq. 'proinde putare aliquem tum *nomina* distribuisse | rebus et inde homines didicisse *uocabula* prima | desiperest. nam cur hic posset cuncta *notare* | *uocibus* et uarios sonitus emittere linguae?', 1057 sq. 'si genus humanum, cui uox et lingua uigeret, | *pro* uario *sensu* uaria res *uoce notaret*', 1087 sqq. 'ergo si uarii *sensus* animalia *cogunt*, | muta tamen cum sint, uarias *emittere uoces*, | quanto mortalis magis aecumst tum potuisse | dissimilis alia atque alia res *uoce notare*'. There lies Horace's vocabulary before our eyes, *uoces, sensus, notare, nomina;* and *uoces* stand on the one side together with *nomina* as the means of expression, *sensus* on the other as the thing expressed. The phrase which we take for Horace's is perverse enough in itself; but that it should have been penned by a writer who had the fifth book of Lucretius lying open before him as he wrote is a pitch of perversity too wonderful for words; uerba, quibus notetur, non inuenio. Be-

fore I offer my remedy let me premise that the transposition of words for no visible reason, nay sometimes even in defiance of sense and metre, is as common in our MSS as in most others: I open Keller and Holder at random and find epod. 2 18 *agris extulit* and *e. a.*, 5 20 *nocturnae strigis* and *s. n.*, 7 15 *albus ora pallor* and *o. p. a.*, 12 3 *firmo iuueni* and *i. f.*, 13 11 *grandi cecinit* and *c. g.*, serm. I 1 83 *reddat natis* and *n. r.*, 84 *saluum te uult, t. u. s.* and *t. s. u.*, 3 42 *nomen uirtus* and *u. n.*, 91 *manibus tritum* and *t. m.*, 5 26 *saxis late* and *l. s.*, 6 13 *regno pulsus* and *p. r.*, 69 *uere quisquam* and *q. u.*, 107 *nemo sordes* and *s. n.*—here I desist, not to be wearisome; but it would be easy to treble the tale. In our passage a similar transposition of one word will restore sense and bring Horace into unison with his exemplar:

> donec uerba, quibus sensus, uocesque, notarent,
> nominaque inuenere;

i.e. donec uerba uocesque nominaque inuenere, quibus sensus notarent.

If anyone remarks on this that such an arrangement of words is contorted and unnatural, and wonders how the ancients, lacking our system of punctuation, could understand it at all, I shall cordially agree with him. But let him not suppose that he is advancing any argument against the probability of the emendation. Such dislocations of sentences are a marked feature of many poetic styles in Latin, and of none more than Lucretius': now Horace as we have seen was steeped in Lucretius when he wrote these lines. Some notion of the lengths to which a Roman could go in this matter will be given by the following passages, partly taken from Munro's note on the first: Lucr. III 843 'si iam, nostro, sentit, de corpore postquam | distractast, animi natura', IV 1119 'nec reperire, malum id, possunt, quae machina uincat', VI 158 'uentus enim cum confercit, franguntur, in artum, | concreti montes', 176 'fecit, ut ante, cauam, docui, spissescere nubem', V 177 'natus enim, debet, quicumque est, uelle manere | in uita', III 196 'namque, papaueris, aura potest suspensa leuisque | cogere, ut ab summo tibi diffluat altus aceruus', Catull. 44 7 'tussim, | non inmerenti quam

mihi meus uenter, | dum sumptuosas appeto, dedit, cenas', 66 18 'non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint', Verg. buc. II 12 'at, mecum, raucis, tua dum uestigia lustro, | sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis, Aen. I 195 'uina, bonus quae, deinde, cadis onerarat Acestes | litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros, | diuidit', II 303 'arrectis auribus asto, | in segetem, ueluti, cum flamma furentibus austris | incidit aut rapidus montano flumine torrens | sternit agros sternit sata laeta boumque labores | praecipitesque trahit siluas, stupet inscius alto | accipiens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor' (i.e. arrectis auribus asto ueluti stupet accipiens sonitum pastor: the passage as usually punctuated is incoherent), X 385 'Pallas ante ruentem, dum furit, incautum, crudeli morte sodalis, | excipit', Hor. serm. I 3 9 'saepe, uelut qui, | currebat, fugiens hostem', 5 71 'sedulus hospes | paene, macros, arsit, dum turdos uersat in igni', II 1 60 'quisquis erit uitae, scribam, color', 3 211 'Aiax, immeritos cum occidit, desipit, agnos', epist. II 2 21 'ne, mea, saeuus | iurgares, ad te quod epistula nulla rediret', Ouid. her. 10 110 'illic, qui silices, Thesea, uincat, habes', amor. III 5 13 'candidior, quod adhuc spumis stridentibus albet | et modo siccatam, lacte, reliquit ouem', ars I 399 'tempora qui solis operosa colentibus arua, | fallitur, et nautis adspicienda putat', met. III. 584 'non mihi, quae duri colerent, pater arua, iuuenci, | lanigerosue greges, non ulla armenta reliquit', fast. I 263 'inde, uelut nunc est, per quem descenditis, inquit, | arduus, in ualles et fora, clinus erat', III 383 'Mamurius, morum fabraene exactior artis, | difficile est, illud, dicere, clausit opus', Ibis 3 'nullaque, quae possit, scriptis tot milibus extat | littera Nasonis, sanguinolenta legi', trist. III 5 23 'si tamen interea, quid in his ego perditus oris, | quod te credibile est quaerere, quaeris, agam', ex Pont. I 1 80 'plus isto, duri, si precer, oris ero', 5 79 'quid tibi, si calidae, prosit, laudere Syenae?', Ter. hecyr. 262 'eo, domum, studeo haec, priusquam ille ut redeat', Luc. Phars. I 13 'heu quantum potuit terrae pelagique parari | hoc, quem ciuiles hauserunt, sanguine, dextrae', IX 554 'nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturos | dicturosque magis, quam sancto, uera, Catoni?', 636 'hoc habet infelix, cunctis impune, Medusa, | quod spectare licet', Mart. XI 97 'una nocte quater possum; sed, quattuor annis | si pos-

sum, peream, te, Telesilla, semel', Auson. epigr. 12 1 'cuius opus? Phidiae, qui signum Pallados, eius, | quique Iouem fecit'[1]. Even in prose are found such examples as Cic. r. p. I 15 'quae, uix coniectura, qualia sint, possumus suspicari'.

I take 'uerba' 'uoces' and 'nomina' as all meaning much the same thing: they are often used quite promiscuously, and Cicero can say at will '*uerba* rebus impressit' or 'quae res huic *uoci* subiciatur' or 'imponere rebus *nomina*'. Poets in Latin as in other tongues delight to accumulate synonyms such as 'mortis letique', 'mentem animumque', 'genus alituum uariaeque uolucres'; and so Lucr. IV 533 says 'uoces uerbaque', Hor. epist. I 1 34 'uerba et uoces', 18 12 'iterat uoces et uerba cadentia tollit'. Of course in strictness 'uoces' comprises both 'uerba' (verbs) and 'nomina' (nouns) as well as all the other parts of speech; but just in the same way Horace writes epist. I 16 41 'qui *consulta* patrum, qui *leges iura*que seruat', though strictly 'iura' includes 'leges' and 'consulta' and much more besides; 'constant autem *iura* populi Romani ex *legibus*, plebis *consultis*, constitutionibus principum, edictis eorum qui ius edicendi habent, responsis prudentium' is Gaius' definition.

Serm. I 3 117—124.

Adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
uerbera non uereor, cum dicas esse paris res
furta latrociniis et magnis parua mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines.

This passage is well known as a supposed example of 'uereor ut' = 'uereor ne'. The use is absolutely unique—Mr Palmer disposes of certain irrelevant passages cited as parallel—and, to me as to him, absolutely incredible. A language in which one

[1] These passages supply the answer to Mr Paley's very just remark (vol. XVI of this Journal, p. 184) that 'uobis' is out of place in the sentence 'tunc ego crediderim et manes et sidera uobis posse Cytinaeis ducere carminibus'.

phrase possesses two diametrically opposite senses and can be employed indifferently in either without anything to tell which is meant, is not a language in which man can make himself intelligible to his fellow man. Explanations of a familiar sort are forthcoming: Horace is dead and cannot protect himself, so we are told that 'ut' coming first makes a difference: his intellect was not equal to the strain of remembering from one verse to another how he had opened the sentence: when he began to write he thought he was going to say 'uerisimile non est' and so wrote 'nam ut ferula caedas': when he reached the next line he fancied he had written 'nam ne ferula caedas' and so wrote 'non uereor': what philtre, what hippomanes it was that produced this 'animi caligo et magna obliuio rerum quas modo gessit' we do not learn. He had thrown off his stupor and regained his memory when in II 1 60 he wrote 'o puer, ut sis | uitalis metuo'. But Mr Palmer, the first commentator to look the difficulty in the face, has not restored the text by altering the 'non' of v. 121 to 'nunc'; and when he says that the sense thus obtained is more in keeping with the views of Horace he is certainly mistaken. The right and the only right sense is that which other commentators, however illegitimately, extract from the vulgate: 'non uereor ne ferula caedas meritum maiora uerbera subire': Mr Palmer's 'uereor ut ferula caedas meritum maiora uerbera subire' is not the right sense. The difference between the two is expounded with characteristic lucidity by Lambinus: 'qui ita loquitur, *uereor ut caedas*, uult caedi et uidetur ita dicere, *uereor ne non caedas*. si quis ita loquatur, *non uereor ne caedas*, hoc significat, *ego non dubito quin non sis caesurus*, uel, *confido te non caesurum*'. Now what cause is Horace pleading? he is pleading, not that punishment should be *lighter* than the crime deserves, but that it should be *not heavier* (v. 118 peccatis quae poenas inroget *aequas*). But Mr Palmer's conjecture 'uereor ut ferula caedas' will make him say that he wishes a man who has deserved a heavier punishment to receive the insufficient chastisement of the *ferula*: but that will not be a *poena aequa*: a too light punishment is just as much *iniqua* as a too heavy one. What Horace ought to say is not that he wishes the Stoics to be too lenient, but that he feels

sure they will not be too lenient: *confido te non ferula caesurum*; and say it I believe he did, as follows:

adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas.
nam, ut scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello,
ne ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
uerbera non uereor, cum dicas eqs.

'for (though I daresay you will inflict the *flagellum* on one who deserves only the *scutica*) I am sure from your talk that you will not be content with inflicting the *ferula* on one who deserves something worse': your theory that one crime is as bad as another may lead you to punish light crimes heavily but will not lead you to punish grave crimes lightly: your levelling of punishment will be all in the direction of severity, not of leniency. I obtain this sense by exchanging the initial syllables of the two verses. The scribe, I assume, glancing from the one N to the other, wrote 'ne' when he should have written 'nam ut', and then, not to spoil his page by an erasure, wrote on, put 'nam ut' in the place of 'ne', and appended marks of transposition, neglected or not understood by the succeeding copyist. The same error has been detected by Sanadon in carm. I 16 6 and 8 where 'non Liber aeque' and 'non Dindymene', as style and sense proclaim, have changed places: again in epist. I 1 43 and 44 the two final words 'repulsam' and 'labore' are inverted in five of Holder's MSS: again, I do not think anything can be made of carm. II 5 13—15 until the final 'ferox' of v. 13 is transposed with the final 'fugax' of v. 17 as Wakefield in one of his happy moments suggested: for 'Pholoe ferox' see carm. I 33 6 'asperam Pholoen'. To conclude: as to the sense of our passage I am at one with the commentators; but I get the sense by transposing two syllables, they get it by translating *ut* as *ne*. Which of these methods is prudence, and which temerity, opinions differ, and, I suppose, will differ as long as men study the classics.

Serm. I 4 100—103.

Hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est
aerugo mera; quod uitium procul afore chartis,

atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
possum aliud uere, promitto.

The normal phrase is 'promitto, si quid aliud uere promittere possum'. How then is to be understood and construed the redundant and unexampled 'ut'? O, in a dozen ways: Lambinus makes the sentence stand for 'promitto, ut *quidnis* aliud, si quid *est, quod* de me spondere ac recipere possim'; Doederlein calls it a brachylogy for 'uere promitto, ut *quicquam* aliud, si quid promittere de me possum'; Dillenburger says the construction is 'ita promitto, ut *promitto*, si quid aliud uere de me promittere possum'; Kiessling supposes a blending of two forms 'ut aliquid promittere possum' and 'si quid promittere aliud possum'; and so on, and so on. Against each and all of these profusely furnished explanations a great deal might be said, were it necessary; but it is not: I prefer to rest my case on the sense of the words, which the commentators in their very natural care and trouble about the construction appear to have entirely neglected. If Horace promises that the vice of malice *shall* be absent from his writings, *and first* from his mind, he proclaims, or words have no meaning, that this vice is, at the time of speaking, present both in his mind and in his writings: the future tense with the adverb 'prius' marking two stages can signify nothing else: Lambinus perhaps sees this when he mistranslates 'prius' as 'quod prius est'. That Horace never brought against himself this monstrous charge is of course quite certain; and I think the reader will smile when I point out the perfectly gratuitous manner in which he has been made to bring it. The words Horace wrote are every one of them there, placed as he placed them; only punctuated with a perversity approaching the miraculous. What he said is this:

quod uitium procul afore chartis
atque animo, prius ut, si quid promittere de me
possum aliud uere, promitto.

For the position of 'ut' see I 3 89 'porrecto iugulo historias, captiuus ut, audit'. He promises that malice shall be, as heretofore (ut prius), absent both from his books and from his mind. Verbum non amplius addam.

Serm. I 6 100—104.

Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res
atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusue peregre aut
exirem, plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita.

This reading of v. 102, exhibited by all MSS of any account, is not merely indefensible but undefended, which in Horace is another thing. The reading of a single inferior MS, 'peregreue' for 'peregre aut', is accepted by almost all editors; but this gives no adequate explanation of the error. If a scribe offended by the hypermeter had decided to alter the text, he assuredly would not have altered it to anything so strange as 'rusue peregre aut' when it was in his power to write 'rus peregreue': that would have been to create a worse difficulty than he was removing. I will therefore propose another solution:

uti ne aut rus solusue peregre
exirem.

The eye of the copyist glanced from *rus* to *-lus* and he wrote 'uti ne aut rusue peregre', and then on noticing his omission added 'solus' in the margin. His successor had to incorporate 'solus' in the verse: naturally enough it did not occur to him to wrench 'rus' apart from 'ue' and insert 'solus' between them, so he resorted to the rearrangement we now find in the MSS. It is perhaps a point in favour of this conjecture that it introduces the dislocation of words, commonly typified by 'ludo fatigatumque somno', which Horace especially affects. The rather rare correlation of 'aut' and 'ue' is illustrated in the lexicons.

Serm. I 8 33—36.

Hecaten uocat altera, saeuam
altera Tisiphonen: serpentis atque uideres
infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.

The moon, at sight of these sorceries on the Esquiline, blushed and hid her face behind great tombs. To begin with, from all that the ancients tell us of her habits and propensities we should infer that this is the last thing in the world the moon would do. To hide her face behind tombs she must descend to earth from whatever station in the sky she happens at the time to occupy: but that is her special aversion. When sorcerers, instead of confining themselves as here to necromancy, direct their spells upon her, then indeed down she must come whether she will or no, but it is with the worst of graces: the poets again and again depict the scene, 'reluctantem cursu deducere Lunam', 'anhelantes audito carmine bigas', and so on. Passing strange it is then if in order to avoid witnessing magic she does the very thing which when magic constrains her to do it she most abhors. But waive this objection; let the moon be never so eager to hide behind tombs: she could not: there were no tombs on the Esquiline to hide behind. The place was now no longer a burial ground but laid out in pleasure gardens. Mr Palmer indeed observing this difficulty says 'Horace is describing a state of things that is past, before the conversion of the graveyard into a park'; but I prefer to believe Horace himself who says just the contrary, '*nunc* licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque | aggere in aprico spatiari, qui modo tristes albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum, | *cum* mihi non tantum fures...curae *sunt*...quantum carminibus quae uersant... humanos animos'. But let this objection too be waived: then I go on to say that even before the improvements of Maecenas there stood no 'magna sepulcra' on the Esquiline. The Esquiline, as Horace tells us, was the place of burial for the poor and slaves whose friends could barely afford them a coffin: no great tombs for these: for these the field itself, as he ironically says, 'stabat commune sepulcrum'[1].

Hide behind great tombs then the moon neither would nor could: Priapus witnessed quite another proceeding:

[1] It is represented to me that perhaps the graveyard had been in remote times a fashionable one and some tombs dating from those days were left standing by Maecenas.

Lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere crepuscla.

In Lucian Icarom. 21, cited by Peerlkamp, the moon says *κἄν τινα ἴδω αὐτῶν μοιχεύοντα ἢ κλέπτοντα ἢ ἀλλό τι τολμῶντα νυκτερινώτατον, εὐθὺς ἐπισπασαμένη τὸ νέφος ἐνεκαλυψάμην*: then for 'rubentem' see Stat. Theb. I 105 '*per nubila* Phoebes | Atracia *rubet* arte labor'. Ouid. met. XI 596 'exhalantur humo...crepuscula' shews that 'crepuscla' can = 'nebulae'. Whether this shorter form of the word occurs elsewhere I do not know, nor does it matter: 'circlos' is quoted only from Verg. georg. III 166, 'spectaclum' only from Prop. IV 8 21 and 56, 'singlariter' only from Lucr. VI 1067, 'coplata' only from ib. 1088. Employing *periclum saeclum uinclum hercle* as freely as the longer forms, a Roman claimed the right to use this contraction not only where metre might demand or prefer it, as in the examples above, but wherever he chose: Ovid in met. I 321 has 'oracla', Martial in I 42 9 'tomacla', without the least necessity, and it is the prose of Varro that furnishes 'surclus'. He who will object to the cacophony of *scl* must first emend 'Ascli' in Sil. Punic. VIII 440. Let now the initial *c* of 'crepuscla' be absorbed by the similar letter *e* which immediately precedes, as in epist. I 2 63 one MS has 'compesce at enis' for 'compesce catenis', there remain the letters *repuscla*; and these are the letters of *sepulcra*. What is the cause of such vagaries as this, Ouid. trist. I 1 83 a*gricola* for A*rgolica*, met. II 485 *manet* for *tamen*, Catull. 22 5 pal*misep*to for pal*impse*sto, Prop. III 20 title co*mpten*tore for co*ntemp*tore, Sen. de clem. I 12 con*sequemur* for cum *quęremus*, and the like, I cannot tell; but we must recognise the fact. In this particular instance there is some excuse for the copyist, as 'repuscla' is no word and the context might suggest 'sepulcra'. Horace will furnish another example: at least it seems to me that nothing but Peerlkamp's '*responsi* hic caupo' will restore sense to serm. I 1 29: his instances of 'caupo' thus employed may be supplemented by Quintilian's similar use of 'institor eloquentiae'. Now *responsi* might by the easiest palaeographical errors be written

refpdusi; and this consists of the same letters as the MS reading *perfidus*. I will add one more parallel which seems especially to the purpose. In Prop. IV 1 the astrologer Horos has dilated on the superiority of astrology to other arts of divination, instancing certain successful predictions of his own in contrast to the blindness of other prophets such as Calchas, and thus proceeds, vv. 119 sq.

> hactenus historiae: nunc ad tua deuehar astra.
> incipe tu lacrimis aequs adesse nouis.

Then he goes on to display his proficiency further by giving an accurate account of where Propertius was born, how he grew up, how Apollo set him verse-writing and foretold him his fame and his amour; and ends by bidding him fear no danger except from the sign of Cancer. But *new tears* is no designation of all this: of the events in question only some are misfortunes, and the misfortunes are not new but old. It is *new marvels* of the astrological art that Propertius is told to witness with composure:

> incipe miraclis aequs adesse nouis.

*miracl*is and *lacrim*is are formed out of the same letters; and when the commoner word had supplanted the rarer, the metre of course cried for the insertion of 'tu'.

Serm. II 2 123—125.

> Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
> ac uenerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
> explicuit uino contractae seria frontis.

The phrase 'culpa potare magistra' is commonly supposed to mean that every one at the table who committed a fault was condemned, some say to drink a cup more, some say a cup less, than the rest of the company. Now without remarking on the singular ambiguity of a phrase which is capable of these two opposite meanings, without endeavouring to frame in imagination an idea of what would constitute a 'fault', without speculating how far this remarkable 'ludus' would conduce to the enjoyment of the party, I will only say that there are no

legitimate means of extorting this sense from the words 'culpa magistra'. What was the office of a *magister* or *magistra bibendi* we know very well: he or she determined the strength and measure of the cups to be drunk, and then all the conuiuae drank even: 'culpa magistra' will never mean any such thing as 'culpa multam singulis indicente'. To the alternative explanation mentioned by Mr Palmer, 'each person took as much as he pleased, restricted only by the feeling that excess was culpable', an equal objection must be opposed: 'culpa magistra' cannot be treated as if it were the same thing as 'culpae timore magistro' or 'modestia magistra'. As for Lambinus' 'cuppa', even if it signified a cup, as he supposed, it would hardly give a tolerable sense, and it signifies nothing of the sort. Of Bentley's two suggestions, 'cupa', the hostess of a neighbouring tavern 'crispum sub crotalo docta mouere latus', 'qua et potandi magistra et saltatrice et crotalistria, et siquid amplius uellent, conuiuae uterentur', introduces a figure quite out of keeping with the staid and frugal character of Ofellus or Ofella and his homely festivities. But Bentley's other conjecture 'nulla', though it departs too far from the MSS, gives not merely a just sense but the one sense necessary. Horace is his own best commentator: in a closely similar passage he sketches the 'noctes cenaeque deum' of his own country life, serm. II 6 67 sqq.

> *prout cuique libido est,*
> siccat *inaequalis calices* conuiua *solutus*
> *legibus insanis,* seu quis capit acria fortis
> pocula seu modicis uuescit lentius.

Here the charm of these simple dinner-parties consists precisely in the absence of any arbiter bibendi to make all drink alike whether they can carry liquor or no: the guests drink 'nulla magistra', or in other words

> post hoc ludus erat captu potare magistro

i.e. 'seu quis capit acria fortis pocula seu modicis uuescit lentius'.

If 'captu' became 'culpa' the change of 'magistro' to 'magistra' was in Horace inevitable: in Plautus or Lucretius

it would not be so, since their scribes made no continuous endeavour to understand what they were writing; but Horace was intelligible to his copyists, and when one of them had made a mistake the next one usually carried it further by an attempt at emendation. But now to shew how it was that 'captu' became 'culpa': I will begin at the beginning. The inversion of two consecutive letters is among the commonest of MS errors and hardly wants illustrating, but take carm. I 15 24 *te* and *et*, 31 16 cichore*a* and cichor*ae*, III 12 6 Lipar*ei* and Lipar*ie*, serm. I 3 90 commix*it* and commix*ti*, epist. I 6 58 G*ar*gilius and G*ra*gilius, II 24 *ut* and *tu*, 18 111 *set* and *est*, ars 36 p*ra*uo and p*ar*uo, 423 *ar*tis and *at*ris. Less common perhaps on the whole but peculiarly frequent in the MSS of Horace is the inversion of three letters: see carm. II 20 15 *ge*tulas and *teg*ulas, III 9 9 *regit* and *riget*, 13 11 *nom*ere and *mou*ere, 18 11 Mur*en*ae and mu*ner*e, epod. 5 15 inp*lic*ata and inp*lac*ita, 16 51 *ouile* and *oliu*ae, serm. I 2 3 T*ig*elli and T*eg*illi, 3 37 *felix* and *filex*, epist. I 3 31 *Mun*atius and *Num*atius, 6 18 sus*pic*e and sus*cip*e, to which in my opinion should be added serm. II 3 215 pa*ret* for pa*ter*, epist. II 2 199 *dom*us for *mod*o ut, ars 423 *leui* for *uel*it: under the same head might be classed serm. I 4 30 *tep*et and *pet*et, 5 79 Tri*uici* and Tri*ciui*, II 6 72 nec*ne le*pos and nec *len*e post, epist. I 18 19 doc*il*is and do*l*icis, II 2 203 *loco* re and *colore*, ars 223 in*lec*ebris and in*cel*ebris, though these might be assigned with equal reason to another error, the transposition of syllables, in-*le*-*ce*-bris and in-*ce*-*le*-bris and so on. Often it will happen that one of the three inverted letters is changed, as carm. III 23 2 Phi*dyle* and Phil*lide*, serm. I 1 38 *sap*iens and *pat*iens, 4 30 *tep*et and *pat*et, II 3 21 *uaf*er and *fab*er, epist. I 7 40 *pat*ientis and *sap*ientis. The exact inversion of four letters is, as might be supposed, a good deal rarer, since inversion is only one out of many ways in which four letters can be rearranged. I formerly quoted an instance from Prop. III 5 24, *inte*gras for *et nig*ras, and some six years ago I was rather elated by hitting on the conjecture '*Roma* quas' for 'quas *amor*' in epod. 2 37, which seems to me absolutely certain; but one's best emendations are always anticipated, and this has been published first by Mr P. J.

Scrinerius in *Mnemosyne* for 1887. The converse error was detected by Muretus and Fruterius in Prop. I 12 2 where they restore *amore* for *Roma*. Sometimes one of the four inverted letters is changed, as Ouid. met. XIV 233 *imas* for *Lami*; or two, as ib. 850 *positum* for *priscum*. The mistake *culpa* for *captu* is the inversion of four letters and the change of one: I suppose that 'caplu' was first written, *t* and *l* being as common an exchange as there is, and that the scribe then altered the order to get a Latin word.

I find an exact parallel in carm. IV 10 2:

> insperata tuae cum ueniet pluma superbiae
> et quae nunc umeris inuolitant deciderint comae.

Bentley observes that 'pluma' never means 'lanugo', and that if it did, the 'in faciem uerterit hispidam' which follows would be pointless repetition; 'ut ne addam absurdum esse, quam barbam iam *plumam* hoc est *mollem* uocauerit, eandem e uestigio *hispidam* fieri'. Yet his 'bruma' cannot be right: he says 'passim apud scriptores adulescentia *ueri*, prouectior aetas *autumno* et *brumae* comparatur': yes, but the event here contemplated is not the old age of Ligurinus but his arrival at pûberty; a consideration fatal also to Cunningham's 'ruga'. The right and necessary sense is given by the 'poena' of Withof and Lehrs: Tibullus on the same theme writes I 8 71 sqq. 'hic Marathus quondam miseros ludebat amantes | nescius *ultorem* post caput esse *deum*...at te *poena* manet, ni desinis esse *superba*'; but I hardly see how in the Horatian archetype 'poena' could become 'pluma'. So I propose to restore the same sense by assuming a more explicable change:

> insperata tuae cum ueniet multa superbiae.

The confusion of *t* with *p* is early and frequent, and is found carm. III 6 27 *inpermissa* and *intermissa*, IV 4 6 *propulit* and *protulit*, c. saec. 23 *totiens* and *potiens*, serm. I 2 110 *pelli* and *tolli*, epist. I 16 45 *introrsum* and *inprorsum*, ars 402 *Tyrtaeus* and *Pyrcaeus*: for the rest, '*pluma*' is '*mulpa*' with its first four letters inverted. The converse corruption I seem to detect in Tibull. [Lygd.] III 6 32 'at nos securae reddamus

tempora mensae: | uenit post multas una serena dies'. Here 'multas' does not any more convey the meaning 'multas nubilas' than the meaning 'multas serenas': Bachrens says with reason '*maestas* uel simile aliquid expectes'. If Lygdamus wrote 'pluuias', that is hardly distinguishable from *plumas*; and the same road led thence to *multas* as from *multa* to *pluma* in Horace.

Serm. II 6 28—31.

> Luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
> 'quid tibi uis, insane, et quas res agis?' improbus urget
> iratis precibus: 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
> ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras'.

Two conjectures compete for the amendment of the unmetrical v. 29: a very few MSS and most editors omit 'tibi', Bentley changes 'quas res' to 'quam rem'. The great unlikelihood of the former proposal Bentley sets in a strong light: not 'quas res agis' but 'quam rem agis' is the regular phrase; the regular phrase again is not 'quid uis' but 'quid tibi uis', which moreover occurs, as here, in company with 'insane' at Cic. de orat. II 269 'quid tibi uis, inquit, insane?' and Prop. I 5 3 'quid tibi uis, insane? meae sentire furores?' and, most important of all, Pers. V 143, an imitation of this very passage, 'quo deinde, insane, ruis, quo? | quid tibi uis?' But on the other hand in Bentley's conjecture the elision of 'rem' is not legitimate. It will not suffice to say that these sermones, approaching as they do the comic style, admit also the metrical license of comedy: how comes it there is only one example, and that a conjecture? It seems then that both attempts at correction must be abandoned. Now there are two sources whence I see promise of help towards a new essay: one is the imitation of Persius already quoted; the other is the codex Gothanus which gives the verse thus:

> 'quid tibi uis, insane, et quas res?' improbus urget

omitting 'agis'. This MS is so often the faithful representative of V that its readings, where the reading of V is not recorded, deserve the highest consideration. Here it is not so evident to

me as to Mr Palmer that the omission of 'agis' is a correction: the verb surely is the last word that would be thrown overboard. On the other hand, if the above is the elder form of the verse, 'agis' is a very natural supplement to write in the margin. Therefore I would state the question thus: Persius has 'quid tibi uis', so has Horace; Persius has 'insane', so has Horace; Persius has 'quo ruis': can we elicit from the 'quas res' of the Gothanus something to answer this? I think so. The inversion of two letters I have already illustrated, the confusion of *f* with *s* I need not illustrate; but the combination of these errors in ars 294 may be quoted: the MSS give both *pre*sectum and *per*fectum. Exactly parallel is the mistake qua*sres* for qua*fers*[1]. But 'qua fers' is just the same thing as 'quo ruis': true 'ferri' and 'se ferre' are commoner in this sense, but Forcellini cites even from the prose of Nepos an instance of the intransitive 'ferentem', and Lucr. VI 299 has 'tulit' = 'se tulit'.

Epist. I 1 53—60.

'O ciues, ciues, quaerenda pecunia primum est,
uirtus post nummos': haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocet, haec recinunt iuuenes dictata senesque, 55
laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:
plebs eris. at pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt
'si recte facies'. 60

V. 56 recurs at serm. I 6 74 'magni | quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti, | laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto, | ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris'. This says nothing against it, as the repetition of a verse is not uncommon with Horace: it is for its entire inappropriateness that Guietus and so many others condemn it. Dr Wilkins thinks though doubtfully that it may be defended as heightening the irony: old and young all repeat the same lesson, like a pack of schoolboys, on their way

[1] In Verg. Aen. IV 438 the Medicean gives *fretque refretque* for *fertque refertque*.

to school'. Even if 'young and old, satchel and tablet on shoulder' were a tolerable method of conveying that meaning instead of an intolerable failure to convey it, still such a metaphor would here be out of place, because we presently have the 'dictata' of these 'iuuenes senesque' contrasted with the 'nenia' of real schoolboys, those who really do carry satchel and tablet. Yet how can the verse be spurious? what should possess an interpolator to insert anything so wholly inopportune?

Now it is undoubted that there has been some disturbance here, for the next two verses, 57 and 58, occupy in almost all MSS the reverse position, 58, 57, leaving 'sed' without sense. I believe then that v. 56 is merely out of its due order. Placed three lines lower down, this torment of the critic will fit its context perfectly:

at pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt 59
laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto 56
'si recte facies'. 60

The boys repeat the jingle 'rex eris si recte facies, si non facies non eris' at play on their way to and from school. I do not pretend to greatly admire the way in which the quoted sentence is thus broken apart; but if the MSS put the verse here and I proposed on that score to remove it, how much attention should I receive?

Epist. I 2 27—33.

Nos numerus sumus et frugis consumere nati,
sponsi Penelopae nebulones Alcinoique
in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuuentus,
cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et 30
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.
ut iugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones:
ut te ipsum serues, non expergisceris?

I summarise Bentley's arguments against the above reading of v. 31 presented by most MSS. In the first place 'cessatum ducere' is itself a strange and scarcely intelligible substitute for 'lenire' or 'solari'; secondly the youth of Phaeacia did

not 'bring care to cease' (if that is what the words mean), inasmuch as they knew nothing of care except from hearsay; thirdly to soothe care by music is no reproach to anyone, and Horace himself carm. IV 11 35 asks for a song because 'minuentur atrae carmine curae'. Further it may be said that 'curam' here can hardly be dissociated from 'cute curanda' in v. 29; so that it will apparently mean 'curam cutis' and give a very absurd result. We turn then to the other reading 'somnum' found in V, in its follower the Gothanus, in the important Emmerammensis and in another of Holder's MSS, and attested by Acron's note 'quia adhibemus sonitum citharae ac lyrae ut facilius sopiamur'. Now 'somnum' cannot be a correction of 'curam', for it makes obvious nonsense: 'curam' may be a correction of 'somnum', for the nonsense which it makes is less obvious. Science therefore bids us take 'somnum' as a relic of truth and seek for an emendation of the now indefensible 'cessatum'. The sense required is clear from the context and especially from vv. 32 sq.: the Phaeacians artificially created or prolonged sleep by the sound of the lyre: see carm. III 1 20 'non auium citharaeque cantus somnum reducent' (to tyrants), Seneca ap. Bentl. 'somnus per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium quaeritur'. Bentley's 'cessantem' (with 'ducere' = 'inducere') and Munro's 'recreatum' (with 'ducere' = 'producere') are entirely satisfactory in point of meaning, but neither approaches the MSS so closely as to enforce assent: the following is nearer, and seems the best word in the language for the thing:

ad strepitum citharae *ar*cessitum *in*ducere somnum.

The lexicons quote '*somnum* medicamentis *arcessere*' from Celsus and '*quies* molli strato *arcessita*' from Livy: add Prop. III 17 13 sq. 'quod si, Bacche, tuis per feruida tempora donis | *accersitus* erit *somnus* in ossa mea'. The loss of *ar* after *ae* is easy, capital R and E being a good deal confused: the further change from 'cessitum' to the nearest Latin word 'cessatum' was sure to happen in this much-read and often-copied author, and is probably deliberate; yet I find the accidental exchange of *i* and *a* in carm. I 28 3 *litus latus* and *latum*, III 10 6 *satum*

and *situm*, epist. I 7 82 *ambagibus* and *ambigibus*, 15 46 *uillis* and *uallis*, ars 249 *fricti* and *fracti*, 327 *Albini* and *Albani*. The whole corruption has a close parallel in Lucr. III 978 where the best MSS give *atque ea nimirum* as Lucretius wrote; but the one *e* was absorbed by the other, leaving *atqueanimirum*, from which certain later MSS elicit *atque animarum* by the change of *i* to *a*. I have written 'inducere' because the loss of *in* after *m* is so common that MS authority is worth nothing on the point, and the verse has thus a smoother rhythm. I think it however quite possible that the writer of serm. II 3 134 'an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente', 181 'uestrum praetor is intestabilis et sacer esto', ars 87 'cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor' and 263 'non quiuis uidet immodulata poemata iudex' wrote also 'ad strepitum citharae arcessitum ducere somnum': the verse is harsher than the other four to my ear, but that proves nothing for Horace's.

Epist. I 5 8—11.

> Mitte leuis spes et certamina diuitiarum
> et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
> dat ueniam somnumque dies: inpune licebit
> aestiuam sermone benigno tendere noctem.

A summer night on the eve of the equinox is alienis mensibus aestas with a vengeance: by the Julian calendar summer ended and autumn began on the 11th of August, six weeks before. I assume as a matter of course that the birthday meant is Augustus': there was more than one Caesar in Rome and there is more than one Victoria in England, but as certainly as 'Victoria's natal day' is the 24th of May to an English poet, so certainly was 'nato Caesare festus dies' the 23rd of September to Horace. Dr Wilkins says that 'Horace and most of his friends would not be likely to be in Rome at all during the unhealthy month of September'; but epist. I 7 shews us August ended and Maecenas in Rome expecting a visit from Horace. Yet Meineke's 'festiuam', found in a few late MSS, cannot be right with 'festus' just above; and Lucian Mueller adds 'abstinent fere dactylici adiectiuo quod est fes-

tiuus'. I propose 'festinam'. The exact counterpart of 'festinam tendere noctem' appears in carm. II 7 6 '*morantem* saepe *diem* mero *fregi*': there the dragging day is curtailed by an early dinner hour, here the too fleet night is lengthened by carousing on into the day. The first letter of a verse is of course in a post of peril: thus in epod. 7 12 all the MSS have *umquam* for *numquam*; and here one of the best, Holder's A, reads *estiuā*. Of *n* confused with *u* I say nothing.

Epist. II 2 87—90.

> Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
> alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
> Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.
> qui minus argutos uexat furor iste poetas?

It is no longer attempted to defend this reading of v. 87 against the censures of Dan. Heinsius and Bentley. Horace has indeed a peculiar use of 'ut' in serm. I 7 13 'ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima diuideret mors' and II 3 1 'si raro scribes, ut toto non quater anno | membranam poscas'; but there 'tam' is readily supplied to 'capitalis' and 'raro', they being an adjective and adverb of quality: 'frater' is nothing of the kind. Again, there is not a word in the text to tell you that this rhetor and lawyer did not thoroughly deserve one another's praise; but unless the praise was groundless and preconcerted, the anecdote is beside the mark, and their behaviour no parallel to that of the 'arguti poetae'. Yet again: if they were brothers, their mutual admiration was natural and pardonable, no subject for ridicule or blame. Here then are three faults to be removed: now consider the various conjectures. Meineke supposes the loss of a verse in this way: 'frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, *uterque* | *alterius laudum sic admirator*, ut alter | alterius sermone meros audiret honores'. To this Dr Wilkins objects that 'the combination *uterque alterius* is very dubious Latin'; but this doubt will be dispelled by Mart. VII 38 4 'quod si fera monstra duorum | iunxeris, *alterius* fiet *uterque* timor'. The true objection, I conceive, is that the proposal removes only the first, not the second or third, of the

faults enumerated above; and the objection to Schuetz's 'fautor' for 'frater' is that though it removes the first and third it leaves the second. All three faults are removed by Bentley's 'pactus erat Romae consulto rhetor' which exactly fulfils the requirements of the sense; but the corruption is hardly to be explained. Palmer's 'auctor...consulto' has the same merit and demerit; Hamacher's 'suasor...consulto' is perhaps a trifle more probable.

But in reading this passage I have always been arrested by a fourth stumbling-block. When Horace relates an anecdote of what happened elsewhere than at Rome, he often names the place where the scene is laid: serm. I 1 64 'quidam memoratur Athenis', II 3 168 'Seruius Oppidius Canusi', 5 84 'anus improba Thebis', epist. II 2 128 'fuit haut ignobilis Argis'. But when he relates an anecdote of what happened at Rome, and he relates many, never save here does he introduce it with a 'Romae'; and no wonder, for surely 'erat Romae' would sound as strange a beginning to Romans as 'there was a man in England' to Englishmen, without it were necessary for the understanding of the tale. At least, I have always felt this difficulty, and did not invent it merely to recommend the following conjecture, which will probably strike the reader as more violent than Bentley's or any of the others:

> praemostrator erat consulto rhetor, ut alter
> alterius sermone meros audiret honores.

The loss of the initial letter left *raemo strator*: the change of *raemo* to *romae* (*remo* to *rome*) may be an instance of that inversion which I illustrated at serm. II 2 123, or may be due merely to that continual exchange of *e* for *o* which together with the confusion of *st* and *f* (ars 249 *fricti* and *stricti*, Ouid. trist. IV 10 86 *structos* and *fructus*, Prop. III 20 17 *constringit* and *confringit*, paneg. Messal. 87 *facilis* and *stabilis*) reduced *strator* to *frater* and so necessitated *consulti*. If I am asked why 'Romae' was transposed, I suspect it was to give the verse the Ovidian flow which copyists prefer: thus some of them in serm. I 5 67 alter '*nilo deterius* dominae ius esse: rogabat' to *deterius nihilo* and in 3 117 'et qui nocturnus *sacra diuum* legerit. adsit'

to *diuum sacra*: but it may be the pure accident which I exemplified fully on serm. I 3 103. Horace got the word 'praemostrator', like so much else, from his friend Terence: haut. 875 'adiutor meus et monitor et praemonstrator Chremes'. The spelling *mostro* is well attested, e. c. by the Medicean MS of Virgil in georg. I 19 'mostrator aratri', and should be restored to our texts wherever traces of it occur: thus in epist. I 2 65 we should take *mostret* from the excellent codex A. Very much to my purpose is the variant *formare* for *monstrare* in ars 49: *mostrare* became *mofrare* as *strator* here became *frater*, and then the letters *mofr-* were arranged as *form-*.

Conjectures which assume a chain of errors like this, even when each error singly is a slight one, are apt to meet with incredulity. Well, suppose that Horace were preserved to us only in those MSS which exhibit carm. I 13 18—20 in this form: 'quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis | *diuolsusque prementibus* | suprema citius soluet amor die'. Suppose that a critic conjectured *diuolsus querimoniis*, and explained that through the confusion of *qu* with *p*, *o* with *e*, and *i* with *t*, *querimoniis* became *perimentis*; that *que*, written above as a correction, was attached by mistake to *diuolsus*; that *perimentis* by the transposition of one letter and the subtraction of another became *prementis*; and that this was stretched to metrical length by the alteration *prementibus*: that conjecture, I imagine, might also meet with incredulity. Yet it would be right.

Ars poet. 60—63.

> Vt siluae foliis priuos mutantur in annos,
> prima cadunt, ita uerborum uetus interit aetas
> et iuuenum ritu florent modo nata uigentque.

I have accepted Bentley's 'priuos' for 'pronos' in v. 60, not understanding how anyone can read his note and refuse. Dr Wilkins observes, as if answering Bentley, that '*in annos* stands very well by itself for *each year* as carm. II 13 14 *in horas* = *every hour*'. Quite true; but that is just Bentley's point. *In annos*, if it stood by itself, would stand very well: the objection to the

vulgate is that *in annos* does not stand by itself but stands with *pronos*. To the phrases *in annos, in dies, in horas*, used in this sense, the Romans do not add descriptive epithets: they add *singulus* or *priuus* or no epithet at all. I am told that 'pronos' is very poetical: I reply, That question does not yet arise. Bentley has not denied that it is poetical; he has denied that it is Latin. Prove it to be Latin, then we will consider whether it be poetical or no: till then, to call it either poetical or unpoetical will be meaningless.

Less valid however are the further objections by which Bentley seeks to bring in an unmetrical alteration. Thus 'foliis mutantur' seems to be quite defensible and rightly explained by Dr Reid as *are parted from their leaves*: 'mutari finibus' comes to the same thing as 'mutare fines', 'foliis mutantur' as 'folia mutant'. Again, when Bentley says 'cum *folia* hic, non *siluae*, cum *uerbis* comparentur, oportet utique ut id uocabulum casu recto efferatur et ducat sententiam', he is quite mistaken. Ovid, as if to refute him beforehand, wrote these exactly parallel verses: met. III 729 'non citius *frondes* autumni frigore tactas | iamque male haerentes alta *rapit* arbore *uentus* | quam *sunt membra* uiri manibus *direpta* nefandis', not *frondes rapiuntur uento*; and so Horace himself in epod. 15 5 says 'artius atque *hedera* procera *adstringitur ilex* | lentis *adhaerens* bracchiis', not *hedera adstringit ilicem*.

But there remains this very real objection to the text: that after 'prima cadunt' a corresponding member such as 'subeunt altera' is imperatively demanded. The difficulty is recognised by all, and is not smoothed away by the irrelevant passages which Vahlen and Keller adduce. Now the tractatus Vindobonensis on this poem has here 'prima, scilicet folia, cadunt, *noua succrescunt*; ita uetus aetas uerborum, id est uerba in uetere aetate inuenta, intereunt, et modo nata...florent', and Lehrs has suggested that a verse is lost containing the word 'succrescunt': say 'prima cadunt *porroque cadentibus altera primis* | *succrescunt*; ita uerborum' cet. Prof. Nettleship in support of his own similar hypothesis refers to Bentley's citation from Jerome, 'postquam...alia uenerit generatio primisque cadentibus foliis uirens silua succreuerit'. Certainly at first sight it looks as if

'succrescunt' must have stood in the text; but on reflexion I do not find the evidence convincing. It is clear that if the Viennese commentator had our Horace before him he would in his paraphrase be impelled and even constrained to supplement the manifest defect in the sense by some such words as 'noua succrescunt'; nor do I see why those exact words should not occur to him. Mr Nettleship indeed says that '*succresco* is a word of the true classical stamp, and not at all likely to have been used *suo Marte* by a medieval commentator'; but even in the middle ages they did not rigidly exclude a word merely because it was classical; and *succresco*, I should think, is the word which would naturally present itself to anyone, medieval commentator or modern schoolboy. As for Jerome, I doubt if his words are from Horace at all: 'uirens silua succreuerit' seems rather to come straight from the great original, *φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη | τηλεθόωσα φύει.* And furthermore there is the gravest reason against inserting any such words as 'noua succrescunt'. I said above that some such words were imperatively demanded by what precedes, and so they are; but then they are inexorably rejected by what follows. If Horace wrote 'prima folia cadunt, noua succrescunt', he might go on 'ita uerborum uetus interit aetas et florent modo nata uigentque'; but that he should add 'iuuenum ritu' is an impossibility. The human simile, if employed simultaneously with the simile of leaves, which would be bad enough, must at the very least appear in each part of the comparison. Before a man writes treatises concerning the art of poetry, let him acquire its rudiments: if at the 61st verse he gives this specimen of his proficiency few will be found so covetous of misinformation as to read him further. *As leaves perish and spring anew, so words perish and spring anew like young men:* there yawns an abyss of literary incapacity into which by no accident can Horace have stumbled. Horace? no, nor Meuius.

Surely the cure for all this trouble is very simple. Nothing wants changing but the stops:

ut siluae foliis priuos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt ita uerborum. uetus interit aetas
et iuuenum ritu florent modo nata uigentque.

As each year's leaves are shed from the trees, so perish the earliest words. Then, with a fresh image: the old generation of them dies, and the newly born, like young men, flourish and thrive.

Ars poet. 101—104.

> Vt ridentibus adrident ita flentibus adsunt
> humani uoltus: si uis me flere, dolendum est
> primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
> Telephe uel Peleu.

Commentators who tell us that *adesse* means to support with sympathy tell us what is quite true but no way relevant to the defence of 'adsunt' here. Of course Horace could say (though the remark would have no connexion with the context) 'ut ridentibus ita flentibus adsunt'; but he did not: he began with 'ut ridentibus adrident', to which 'ita flentibus adsunt' forms no sort of contrast or parallel. But the most serious objection to 'adsunt' is that the notion of 'supporting' is quite foreign to the matter in hand: Horace's point is that whatever emotion you would fain create in your audience, that emotion you must yourself exhibit; and so he goes on 'si uis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi'; but in this connexion 'flentibus adsunt' is quite incoherent, for no one pretends that *adesse* means *flere*. If you impress it on the young playwright as a general truth that mankind *adsunt flentibus*, you will have him introducing all his dramatis personae in tears on all occasions, because success will then be sure. It is therefore very natural that many critics should alter 'adsunt' to 'adflent', which Bentley supports with his usual resourcefulness by Sen. de ira II 2 5 'inde est quod *adridemus ridentibus* et *contristat* nos turba *maerentium*' and Ouid. met. III 459 'cum *risi, adrides*; *lacrimas* quoque saepe notaui | me *lacrimante* tuas'. This no doubt gives Horace's thought; but not his words. It is a poor stylist who having used 'ad*flent*' in v. 101 proceeds with 'si uis me *flere*' in v. 102. There is no offence in 'flentibus' v. 101 followed by 'flere' v. 102, because they who *flent* in the former verse are the actors while he who *flet* in the latter is the spectator; but there would be offence

in 'dolentibus' v. 101 followed by 'dolendum est' v. 102; and there is offence in 'adflent' thus followed by 'flere'. Horace's words therefore seem to have been these:

ut ridentibus adrident ita flentibus adsunt
umiduli uoltus.

adsunt umiduli = adflent. Our archetype usually spells the cognates of *umor* correctly, and so does the archetype of Lucretius; but he slips once and writes *humorem* VI 523, and I suppose some ancestor of ours slipped once and wrote *humiduli* here; just as at serm. II 5 86 we find *humeris*, but no repetition of the blunder in the other places where Horace uses *umerus*. Now with *d* changed to *a* by too short a stroke, and with the customary absence of a dot over the letter *i*, *humiauli* becomes *humani* by the confusion I illustrated on carm. II 2 2. By a very similar error *inaignum* became *magnum* in serm. II 5 79, if Bentley's *indignum* is right, as it ought to be.

Ars poet. 391—401.

Siluestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et uictu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones.
dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis,
saxa mouere sono testudinis et fide blanda
ducere quo uellet. fuit haec sapientia quondam,
publica priuatis secernere, sacra profanis,
concubitu prohibere uago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
sic honor et nomen diuinis uatibus atque
carminibus uenit.

'Orpheus awed savage men from bloodshed and filthiness, and was therefore said to tame lions and tigers. Amphion was said to lead stones with his music whither he would. Wisdom once upon a time consisted in discriminating public property from private, things sacred from things profane, in forbidding roving licence'.....where are we? What has all this about primitive wisdom, which by the way seemingly differs little from modern wisdom, to do with Amphion and Orpheus? And

then he goes on '*sic* honor et nomen diuinis uatibus atque carminibus uenit': poets and their songs won renown because wisdom once upon a time consisted in discriminating public property from private etc.! And then, as suddenly as he introduced this digression from Orpheus and Amphion, so suddenly does he forget all about it, and proceeds (v. 401) 'post hos (Orphea et Amphiona) insignis Homerus | Tyrtaeusque' eqs.

Now not only have we here a shower of information which we do not expect in the least, but we are defrauded of information which we do expect. Horace's theme from v. 391 to v. 407 is this, that poets are the authors of civilisation: 'ne forte pudori | sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo'. To shew forth this truth he rationalises ancient legend: Orpheus, he declares, was said to tame lions and tigers because he softened the rudeness of savage men; Amphion was said to make stones follow his music—now, surely, we are about to hear, of Amphion as of Orpheus, *why* he was said to do so. And Horace told us thus:

> dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis,
> saxa mouere sono testudinis et fide blanda
> ducere quo uellet, fuit huic sapientia quando
> publica priuatis secernere, sacra profanis eqs.

Amphion was said to make stones follow his music and build up Thebes, because he was the architect of social order. Then we go on: *thus*, through the humanising power of Orpheus and the constructive power of Amphion, did poets and poetry win renown.

huic is often confused with *hic*, and *hic* in Horace's MSS must be accommodated to the gender of 'sapientia'. The alteration of qu*a*ndo to quondō is an instance of that curious but not uncommon freak by which two letters in order to exchange places overleap the intervening part of the word without disturbing it: the most frequent example is the variation *flagro* and *fraglo* found at serm. I 4 125 and hundreds of years older than any MS of Horace: here are others: epist. I 2 5 *distenet* and *destinet*, Ter. haut. 535 *uersaret* and *seruaret*, Lucr. VI

1122 qua *grad*itur and qua*drag*itas, Verg. Aen. I 264 cont*und*et and conten*dunt*, Ouid. met. VI 234 *dant*em and *tan*dem, fast. V 507 exsuscitat and excussit ab, Prop. III 3 35 *neru*is and *uern*is, 13 11 m*at*rona and mo*tr*ana, IV 1 129 *uers*arent and *seru*arent, 6 34 eg*ess*it and eg*isset*, Iuu. X 294 u*erginia* and u*irginea*. This very confusion of *quando* and *quondam* recurs in Prop. II 21 11 and, I believe, not forty verses away in the ars poetica itself. The following is the vulgate text of vv. 354—360:

> ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
> quamuis est monitus, uenia caret, et citharoedus
> ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem,
> sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille
> quem bis terue bonum cum risu miror; et idem
> indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
> uerum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.

The misquotation 'aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus' has become a household word, so it never occurs to us to marvel at the insolence of the epithet 'bonus' coming from Horace to Homer; but if an English critic wrote about 'the good Milton' I think we should ask him to keep his condescension for Dr Watts: the word in fact is the technical term by which in literary matters we express tolerance for mediocrity. Even if this is not recognised it must yet be thought strange that the modest elevation to which Choerilus now and then rises and the majestic altitude habitual to Homer should here be designated by the same adjective. But further, v. 359 is a flat contradiction of what he said only eight lines above: he said in vv. 351 sq. 'ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis | offendar maculis', but now it seems he has altered his mind. And further still, 'idem' has not a shred of meaning; there is no semblance of an opposition: 'when Choerilus chances on a good verse my feeling is amused surprise, and *yet* I am impatient when Homer nods': excogitate a sense for that *yet*, et eris mihi magnus Apollo. Now these latter objections are removed by placing a full stop after 'indignor', a punctuation supported by the florilegium Nostradamense which begins its quotation

with 'quandoque'. Both 'idem' and 'indignor' are thus quite right: the few happy lines of Choerilus move the reader to amused surprise yet do not mitigate his impatience of the poetaster's performance. But the next sentence is worse than ever: 'bonus' is unremoved, and 'quandoque', which must now mean 'aliquando', is precluded from that sense by Augustan usage. We require then an appropriate adverb in lieu of 'quandoque', an appropriate adjective in lieu of 'bonus'. And here comes to the rescue an authority four hundred years older than any of our MSS. Jerome, who quotes from memory '*interdum magnus* dormitat Homerus', is not giving the words which Horace wrote: metre forbids 'interdum', 'magnus' may be merely a reminiscence of serm. I 10 52 'tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero'; but he found a full stop after 'indignor' and an adverb meaning 'aliquando' in place of 'quandoque'. I suggest that what he found was this:

> sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille,
> quem bis terue bonum cum risu miror et idem
> indignor. quondam nauos dormitat Homerus;
> uerum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.

quondam I regard as certain, *nauos* only as probable: I would try to commend it by the following considerations. In the first place it is just the word wanted, forming as it does a good contrast to 'dormitat', a perfect antithesis to 'qui multum cessat'[1]. Secondly it will explain the MS text: I gave under serm. II 2 123 several corruptions which may be classed as transpositions of syilables: certainly so to be classed are carm. I 36 17 *pu-tres* and *tres-pu*, III 8 27 *ra-pe* and *s-pe-ra*: for a combination of this error with the ubiquitous interchange of *u* and *b* see Stat. silu. IV 5 17 *la-ua-*nt for *ba-la-*nt: thus then might *na-uo-*s become *bo-na-*s, and out of *quando bonas* the necessities of metre and grammar would elicit *quandoque bonus*. Thirdly it may be the origin of Jerome's *magnus*, for *nauus* is probably to be restored for *magnus* in Prop. II 7 16, and *magnus* in IV 8 41 of the same poet is universally corrected to *nanus*.

[1] Compare v. 140 'nil molitur incepte', 148 'semper ad euentum festinat et in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit'.

Ars poet. 431—437.

Vt qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt
et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
derisor uero plus laudatore mouetur.
reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant
an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
numquam te fallent animi sub uolpe latentes.

Orelli's note on v. 437 is embellished with a number of passages Greek and Latin from Archilochus onwards in which a fox is said to be crafty or to hide behind something else; and this to elucidate a passage of Horace in which something else is said to hide behind a fox or the skin of a fox! Strangest of all it is to see how Pers. v 116 'fronte politus | astutam uapido seruas in pectore uolpem' continues to be quoted: if that verse was imitated from this it proves our MSS here to be desperately corrupt; so totally do the two passages differ in meaning and in everything else except the mere mention of a fox. But to consider Horace's words by themselves: what creature, desiring to conceal his guile, would try to do so with a fox's skin of all things in the world? what possible disguise could excite livelier suspicion than the coat of this proverbial trickster? 'A bad heart under a cunning face' is Macleane's rendering; but if the face is cunning then the bad heart is ill concealed. Dr Wilkins, if I understand him, supposes the 'uolpes' to be the 'derisor' himself; but 'animi sub uolpe latentes' cannot stand for 'animi uolpis sub eius pectore latentes': who ever said 'sub me celo' meaning 'sub meo pectore'? 'curae sub imperatore' for 'sub pectore imperatoris'?

The required sense is clear: kings ply with wine those whose real character they seek to discover: you will find the recitation of your own verses an equally infallible touchstone to detect a 'derisor'.

si carmina condes,
numquam te fallent anguis sub uepre latentis

or anguis in uepre. This is not all conjecture, for the old

Bernese, the best of Horace's MSS in the matter of spelling, has retained the 'latentis' which I adopt: the nom. plur. termination *-is* in i-nouns and present participles is frequently preserved by our great authorities for orthography, such as the MSS of Virgil and Lucretius. The difference between 'ang*ui*' and 'an*imi*' is next to nothing, as I shewed at carm. III 4 10: *exanguis* and *examinis* are confused in Ouid. Ibis 142 and 505. The change of 'uepre' to 'uolpe' involves the change of *o* to *e* (see on carm. I 12 35) and of *r* to *l*: this is very early and common: see carm. III 10 1 *plorares* and *ploralis*, 12 11 *arto* and *alto*, IV 4 41 *alma* and *arma*, serm. II 3 235 *uerris* and *uellis*, epist. II 2 123 *carentia* and *calentia*, ars 371 *aulus* and *aurus*: then conjecture would inevitably alter 'uople' to 'uolpe' if accident did not. Virgil's 'latet anguis in herba' will occur to every one: a still closer parallel will be Pompon. ap. Non. 231 13 'uipera est in uepreeula' if that is the true correction of the MS reading 'uepra est uepreeula'. The following too has some relevance: Theogn. 599—602 *οὔ μ' ἔλαθες φοιτῶν κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν, | ἦν ἄρα καὶ πρὶν | ἠλάστρεις, κλέπτων ἡμετέρην φιλίην. | ἔρρε, θεοῖσίν τ' ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε, | ψυχρὸν ὃς ἐν κύλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν.*

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON THE TEXT OF THE PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN.

THE Philocalia is a selection made from the works of Origen by SS. Basil and Gregory in the fourth century. It is chiefly designed to illustrate his method of expounding Scripture, but it also contains many choice passages on other topics, which Gregory in his dedicatory letter to Theodore, Bishop of Tyana, describes as ἐκλογὰς χρησίμους τοῖς φιλολόγοις. It is specially valuable as preserving to us considerable portions of the original Greek of the De principiis. About one fifth of the Philocalia however is taken from the treatise against Celsus, which Origen wrote at Caesarea towards the end of his life to confute the work, entitled Ἀληθὴς λόγος, of this great second century opponent of Christianity.

Now such was the unpopularity into which the name of Origen fell that but few copies comparatively even of the Contra Celsum, his most approved work, survived. The Philocalia however, backed by the weighty names of its compilers, was transcribed again and again, so that at the present time more than forty copies of it are known to exist. A twofold problem of considerable complexity thus presents itself to an editor of either the Philocalia or the Contra Celsum. The MSS. of each work must be examined and classified, and the text of the common passages ascertained separately from the two sources. The combination of the texts thus arrived at will carry us back at least to the fourth century for these passages, and at the same time shew us how far we may regard the remaining parts of both works as affording, when critically edited, a fair reproduction of their originals. In each case the difficulty of classification is increased by mixture of text:

the Philocalia MSS. in especial having been frequently modified by recurrence to Contra Celsum readings.

No editor of the Philocalia, then, could possibly be exempted from the duty of discovering the true Contra Celsum text of the common passages: and if, on the other hand, an editor of the Contra Celsum were inclined to treat the Philocalia MSS. with lightness, he would quickly be recalled by the consideration of their superior age. For we have Philocalia MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries; whereas no copy of the Contra Celsum is earlier than the thirteenth century.

During the last three years I have been endeavouring, in such leisure as my vacations afforded, to examine the MSS. of both works, but more especially of the Philocalia. In classifying the MSS. of the Contra Celsum I have had Mr F. Wallis of Gonville and Caius College as my coadjutor: and on his behalf and my own I desire to express our thanks to Mr Selwyn, the Headmaster of Uppingham School, for having placed at our disposal some valuable notes which he made in the years 1881–2. The accuracy of these notes in almost every detail we have since been able to verify.

My hope has been to edit the text of the Philocalia; and I should have reserved the discussion of the MSS. for the preface to such an edition, had I not lately become aware that I have a fellow labourer in this somewhat obscure region. Dr Paul Koetschau, Gymnasiallehrer in Jena, has been working for some time at the text of the Contra Celsum, and he has been compelled in consequence to go through the same twofold process, which I have described above. He proposes almost immediately to publish in Harnack's series of "Texte und Untersuchungen" an elaborate discussion of the Contra Celsum MSS., together with an attempt to classify those of the Philocalia as well. As we have worked quite independently we have agreed that it would be more useful that our results should be independently published. A double testimony will thus be given to those points on which we are agreed—an obvious gain in so difficult and delicate a matter as the genealogies of MSS. My present object, therefore, is to state the more important facts which I have learned, and to indicate my conclusions as to the classific-

ation of the MSS. of both works, but more especially of the Philocalia with which I am chiefly concerned.

I have arranged the Philocalia MSS. into three main groups representing three distinct types of text. The Contra Celsum MSS. likewise fall into three groups. I shall have something to add as to the comparative accuracy of the Contra Celsum and Philocalia texts.

I.

Until quite recently the earliest known MS. of the Philocalia was a cursive quarto of the eleventh century in the Library of S. Mark at Venice (Gr. 47). This MS. held a unique position not merely on account of its being two centuries older than any other, but also because it contained peculiar *prolegomena* of its own, and a series of marginal criticisms warning the reader against aberrations from the orthodox faith. In 1844, however, and again in 1859, on his return from Mt Sinai, Tischendorf visited the Monasterial Library at Patmos, and his attention was directed to a tenth century MS., which had been erroneously catalogued by H. O. Coxe and others as 'Origenis Hexapla.' On inspection he found that it contained (1) the Philocalia, (2) Scholia from the Hexapla on Proverbs, and (3) Scholia on certain works of Gregory the Divine, together with a life of that saint. This then is the oldest copy of the Philocalia at present known to exist; and in order to explain its importance it will be well first to give an account of the Venice Codex, to which it is closely related.

Ven. 47, then, is a parchment quarto of 156 leaves, 10 in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., containing 31 lines in a page: the character is small minuscules hanging from the lines: the headings are in small capitals, and the ink throughout is a reddish brown. It probably belongs to the eleventh century.

Now most MSS. of the Philocalia commence with a short preface (ἐκλογὴν ἡ παροῦσα περιέχει βίβλος, κ.τ.λ.) stating that it was compiled by Basil and Gregory, and sent by the latter to Theodore, Bishop of Tyana, together with a letter which then follows (ἑορτὴ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, κ.τ.λ.), and which is

found with slight variations in Gregory's collected works. After this comes a table of contents introduced by the words, *τάδε ἔνεστιν* (alii *ἐστὶν*) *ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ*. But Ven. 47 begins with the word *πρόλογος*, under which comes a long preface of five pages, commencing indeed with *ἐκλογὴν ἡ παροῦσα*, κ.τ.λ., but inserting various comments and modifications, working it up into a defence of the action of Basil and Gregory in producing a selection from Origen's works, and at the same time suggesting that the present Philocalia has been interpolated for heretical purposes since it left their hands. In conclusion, the writer of the preface says that he has placed marks against obnoxious passages (*αἱρετικὰ...ψεκτὰ*, *κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστα τόπους ἐστηλιτεύσαμεν*). Then follows Gregory's letter, and after it, on the next page, *τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ. ἐκλογὴ κεφαλαίων ἐκ διαφόρων συγγραμμάτων τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ὠριγένους*. An almost invisible line has been since drawn through the word *δυσσεβοῦς*. Then comes a table of contents, shewing 27 chapters, correctly numbered throughout, with the subsections of c. xxi also properly numbered. This is the only copy in which I know this numeration to be quite correctly done. Opposite to *ις'* and *κ'* in this index are references to the Contra Celsum in the blacker ink of a later hand. After a simple border and its proper heading, c. i begins with the words *ἐπεὶ περὶ τηλικούτων*, κ.τ.λ. The MS. ends with the words *γηΐνων πράξεων* on f. 156 r. The other side of the leaf contains some close but smeared writing in a later hand, consisting of extracts relating to Origen from Photius, Bibliotheca §§ 117, 118.

Two correctors have been at work on the MS. The first seems to be contemporaneous with the original scribe: the other is much later, using a blacker ink and inserting corrections from a MS. of the Contra Celsum, to the chapters of which he has put the reference in the Index. Besides these a large and clumsy hand has written occasional notes to defend Origen from the charges preferred against him in the margin. The MS. belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, whose signature it has on the first page.

Here we may at once dispose of two descendants of Ven. 47.

One is Vat. 389, the leaves of which have been pasted on fresh paper and rebound in such a way as to give a wholly false idea of their original order. The red ink of the scribe had become almost entirely obliterated, while his black ink had stood well. The whole of the index thus became nearly invisible and part of it was accordingly treated as a blank page. This MS. has incorporated the corrections of Ven. 47, and so offers a text closely resembling that of the Contra Celsum wherever the black corrections had been duly inserted.

In Sir Thos. Phillipps's Library at Cheltenham I was allowed by the courtesy of its present owner to examine a MS. bearing the inscription 'Colleg. Clarom. Paris. Soc. Jesu,' and the date 1573. The strange dislocation which I noted in its prefatory matter was at once accounted for when I saw the condition of Vat. 389, from which it is most undoubtedly copied. These are the only two MSS. directly or indirectly descended from Ven. 47, of which I have any knowledge. Up to the present time therefore this Codex has been the only independent witness to a most important line of text.

It is now time to describe the Patmos MS. During the Easter Vacation of 1887 I was hospitably entertained in the Monastery of S. John the Divine, while I was engaged in making a collation of it. Patmos 270 is a parchment quarto of 435 leaves, the leaf measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 6 in., the written part $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 4 in. The character is small minuscules, sometimes crossing, sometimes hanging from the line: there are 29, rarely 30, lines in a page: the ink is brown throughout; the capitals are small and plain, and the headings are in small capitals: there are scarcely any corrections. The contractions are very numerous at the outset: but on f. 143 r they begin to lessen, and they are not found from 143 v to 153 v, where they recommence to a slight extent half-way down the page. The grave and acute accents are very slanting; the circumflex is sometimes round and sometimes pointed. The breathings are formed by a perpendicular line with a side stroke to the right or the left. The prepositions in composition often retain their accent: the breathings are omitted after *οὐκ*, *οὐχ*, *ὑφ*, &c.: there is no *ι* adscript or subscript. A friend's camera enabled

me to bring back photographic facsimiles of several pages. Tischendorf assigns the MS. to the XIth century: I should incline to place it towards its close.

As this MS. is so difficult of access I give here a somewhat full statement of its contents.

f. 1 r. Top part torn away; first legible words part being pasted over: *γενέσθαι μὴ ἀμφιβαλλόντων*, κ.τ.λ. (18 lines).

f. 1 v. Several lines lost; then: *μετώπου* κ.τ.λ. (3 lines) down to *κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστα τόπους ἐστηλιτεύσαμεν.* Then a very plain border followed by *ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἁγίου γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου πρὸς θεόδωρον ἐπίσκοπον τυάνων. ἑορτὴ καὶ τὰ γράμματα*, κ.τ.λ. (14 lines). After another plain border comes in a much later hand: *πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοει τὰς ἀγγελικὰς·— σημειωτέον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ ὁρωμένου τούτου κόσμου τὰς ἀγγελικάς φησιν ἀποστῆναι δυνάμεις.*

f. 2 r. *τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ.*

ᾱ. περὶ τοῦ κ.τ.λ., commencing the index.

On f. 3 r, three-quarters down, after *ἀπάτης* comes another border: then follows

περὶ αὐτεξουσίου καὶ, κ.τ.λ.....*ἐστι ταῦτα*

ᾱ. εἰς τὸ ἐσκλήρυνεν, κ.τ.λ.

and so on through the six subsections of c. xxi., which are numbered as distinct chapters: so that we reach at last on the fifth line of f. 4 r,

ιβ̄. εἰς τὸ ἐσκλήρυνεν, κ.τ.λ.

Here follows another border, and we commence the book itself with the heading of c. i. A leaf is lost after *φάσκων* (Lommatzsch, Philoc. p. 4), and the next leaf begins with *κυριεύων* (Lomm. p. 6). The Philocalia ends on f. 185 v, l. 5, with *γηίνων πράξεων* and a plain border. Then follows immediately, and in the same hand-writing: *σχόλια εἰς τὰς παροιμίας*, for which see Tischendorf, Notitia Cod. Sinaitici, p. 76. This again ends with a plain border on f. 230 r, near the bottom: after which follows the note: *μετελήφθησαν ἀφ ὧν εὕρομεν ἐξαπλῶν. καὶ πάλιν αὐταχειρὶ πάμφιλος καὶ εὐσέβιος διορθωσαντο.* Another border closes the page; and f. 231 r gives an index to some work of Gregory the Divine, followed by scholia on certain of his *λόγοι*. The writing ceases

abruptly on f. 435 v with the words *καταθέμενος· τοῦτο καὶ βούλεται καὶ δύναται*, and so the MS. ends.

It will be seen from this description that the Patmos codex is unfortunately mutilated at the commencement, and that the first thing which is continuously legible is the dedicatory letter of Gregory. But the words immediately above this, *κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστα τόπους ἐστηλιτεύσαμεν*, together with others preceding them, are sufficient to identify the passage with the close of the long preface contained in Ven. 47. It is most remarkable however that all the marginal notes which occur in the Venice MS. are omitted; nor is there a single trace of the signs of dissent which are promised at the close of the preface: the abusive epithet applied to Origen has also disappeared.

Two general features of the Patmos MS. may here be noted. One is the excessive use of contractions in the first half of the Philocalia, as though the scribe were in great fear of exhausting his parchment before his matter was concluded. Later on the contractions lessen until they practically cease: then they thicken again for a few pages, until with a fresh gathering of leaves he is encouraged gradually to abandon them, and they do not reappear, with but few exceptions, through the remainder of the codex. The other feature is the constant and careless omission of words and phrases to the complete destruction of the sense. If the same words occur in two consecutive lines it is as likely as not that the intermediate phrase will be lost.

A comparison of variants soon shews that, although the text generally is the same in both, neither of these two MSS. has been copied from the other: and the question arises, What can we ascertain as to their common source? I am inclined to believe that they are both copied from a MS. of the IXth century, which contained the marginal notes and the marks of dissent, as well as the long preface. For various indications point to a cursive rather than an uncial ancestor for the Patmos Codex: and the view I have taken receives substantial support from a curious note in the margin of Ven. 47. Origen has been declaring (Philoc. c. i, Lomm. p. 21) that certain passages of Scripture have no literal sense, but are purposely meaningless or even absurd when interpreted literally, in order that we may be

forced to seek for the deeper moral and spiritual truths which every Scripture contains. He instances the Mosaic distinction whereby certain animals are pronounced unclean, which as a matter of fact have no existence except in fable. One of these fabulous creatures is the τραγέλαφος, a monstrous combination of the goat and the stag. Here the critic interposes, and says in the margin: 'But we once saw a τραγέλαφος, which came from Thrace to Caesar Barda's house,' and so on. Now Barda was a clever statesman of the reign of Michael III, under whose frivolous rule he enjoyed almost absolute power. He was advanced to the dignity of Caesar in 862 A.D., and was murdered in 866 A.D. Notorious for his vices, he was yet a good jurist, and as the solitary patron of literature he brought about a revival of learning which alone redeems his memory from disgrace. It was he, for example, who procured the appointment of the learned Photius to the patriarchate (Zonaras, pp. 160, 161). Thus we are guided to Constantinople and the second half of the ninth century as the locality and date of the archetype of our two MSS. This harmonizes with the indications alluded to of its having been written in a cursive hand.

This marginal reference to Caesar Barda goes to shew that the archetype of Pat. 270 and Ven. 47 contained the notes, and therefore no doubt the signs of dissent, which are found in the latter MS. But why should the scribe of the Patmos codex have omitted them? He seems to have been pressed for space indeed: but still he left a margin of considerable width. I believe that he was an ignorant person, and failed to see that the omission stultified the preface which he had copied out at such length.

The scribe of Ven. 47, on the contrary, was incapable of so obvious a blunder. He was an able scholar, and he lived in the midst of books. This fact is of great importance in estimating the value of the text he has left us. For besides the very frequent later corrections to the Contra Celsum text which the MS. now shews in blacker ink, there are also indications that the original scribe had himself introduced, though but sparingly, modifications from some MS. of the Contra Celsum. In the following instances, for example, he is at variance not only with

the Patmos MS, but with both the other groups, and in harmony with the Contra Celsum text. Lomm. p. 81 *σκευασθὲν* cett. *κατασκευασθὲν*, p. 96 *κἂν ὀλίγην* cett. *καὶ ὀλίγην*, p. 97 *μυρίους* cett. *μυρίοις*, p. 103 *λεκτέον δὲ* cett. *λεκτέον δή*, p. 106 *καὶ γυναῖκα γαμουμένην* om. cett., p. 116 *νῦν δὲ ζητεῖτε* cett. *νῦν ζητεῖτε*. These indications are slight, but they cannot be neglected, especially as in chap. xv (Lomm. p. 87) where the compilers of the Philocalia introduce a brief sentence from Contra Celsum Bk I, between passages from Bks VI and II, we find in the margin in the original hand the references *ἅ ᾱ* and *ἅ β*. This is a certain proof of an acquaintance with the Contra Celsum itself; and the triviality of the corrections suggests a desire to improve the Philocalia text rather than to substitute for it the text of the Contra Celsum MS.

We find him at work in a similar manner in c. xxiv, which is derived from Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, vii. 22. Here again he alone recurs to the Eusebian text (see Gaisford's edition, vol. II. p. 213, &c.), as, for example, in the following readings: Lomm. p. 228 *ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν* cett. *ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον*, p. 229 *ἀλλ' εἰ* cett. *ἀλλ' ἤ*, and a score of others.

But by far the most important correction he has given us is in c. xxvii, which is taken from Origen's lost Commentaries on Exodus, a copy of which must have been before him. For here an extraordinary dislocation has taken place, which may very well be attributed to the copy of the Commentaries on Exodus from which Basil and Gregory made their original extract. As it has not hitherto been observed I shall explain it with some fulness; but I shall confidently leave the restored text to be its own justification. The words *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ τὰ πρωτότοκά σου* (Lomm. p. 265 cf. Exod. iv. 23) are, in the Patmos MS. as in those of both the other groups, followed by *καὶ γνώσονται γὰρ*, κ.τ.λ. (cf. Exod. vii. 5). So on p. 266 *οὕτω δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπειλὴν* is followed by *ἀπό τε τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν*, κ.τ.λ.: on p. 270 *ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἀναγέγραπται* by *ἆρα γὰρ ὁ σκληρύνων σκληρὸν σκληρύνει*; κ.τ.λ.: and on p. 271 *ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλαχόθεν πειθόμενοι* by *καὶ πόνον καὶ κόλασιν*, κ.τ.λ.

Now reckoning that a leaf of the mutilated codex contained 29 lines, or about a page, of Lommatzsch's edition, we are able

by the aid of the Venice MS. both to restore the true order and to explain the error. The leaves of the MS. in question must have contained the following passages:

1. *ἆρα γὰρ ὁ σκληρύνων...πολλαχόθεν πειθόμενοι*
2—5. *ἀπό τε τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν—ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἀναγέγραπται.*
6. *καὶ γνώσονται γὰρ—καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπειλήν*
7. *καὶ πόνον καὶ κόλασιν, κ.τ.λ.*

Now ff. 1 and 6 became detached and exchanged places, and so the mischief was done.

Ven. 47 is the only codex which gives the right order. There is one other fragmentary testimony to it, which will be noticed later on: but I cannot regard the witness as independent. We have to thank our critical scribe then for a most important restoration: but we must repay him with the ingratitude of perpetually doubting his loyalty to the Philocalia text.

The relation between these two MSS. then may be restated briefly thus. Their common preface, together with the general agreement of their text, points to a lost archetype which cannot be later than the Xth century. This archetype was probably a cursive, and therefore not earlier than the IXth century. Since it contained the preface, we must assume that it also contained the signs of dissent promised at the close of the preface: and it is most natural to assign to it the marginal notes as well. A few of these notes are common to MSS. of the other groups, and so they may claim a high antiquity. But the more controversial notes seem to belong to the writer of the controversial preface; and to him we shall accordingly most fitly ascribe the note which introduces Caesar Barda. Thus we should fix the archetype in the latter half of the IXth century. A hundred years later the scribe of the Patmos MS. wrote his copy, and omitted the marginal notes and signs of dissent, although he retained the preface, which he perhaps regarded as an integral part of the book. Then fifty or a hundred years later still, the scribe of the Venice codex wrote his copy, accurately reproducing the preface, notes and signs, and critically emending the text by the aid of such original authorities as the Contra

Celsum, the Praeparatio of Eusebius, and the now lost Commentaries of Origen on Exodus. In deciding the text of this lost archetype the chief weight must be given to the evidence of the Patmos codex, as the critical skill of the scribe of Ven. 47 will often only serve to put him out of court.

II.

The two important MSS. which have occupied us hitherto belong to the Xth and XIth centuries. The next in order of age belongs to quite a different group, and is placed by Omont in the XIIIth century. This is Paris. Suppl. Gr. 615, a beautiful vellum codex, written in two columns, and with 24 lines to a page. It measures 11 in. by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., and consists of 198 leaves. The character is minuscules hanging from the ruled lines. The capital letters and the headings of the chapters are in gold.

Unfortunately at the beginning of the codex several leaves are lost, and others are missing later on. The first of the existing leaves moreover have been misplaced by the binder: but when they are rearranged the earliest words that we find are *τοῖς πολλοῖς μὴ εὑρῆσθαι* (Lomm. p. 9). There are some corrections apparently contemporaneous with the original writing: and here and there a later hand has made changes in a blacker ink. The first column of f. 104 r begins with a broad gold line, followed by an index, with gold capitals to the headings but no numeration of chapters. The index ends on f. 104 v half way down the second column: the rest of the page is blank, and then a leaf is lost. This index illustrates a feature specially marked in this group: viz., the expressed division of the Philocalia into two books, the second of which commences with c. xxi.

From Par. S. 615 is copied Basil. A. iii. 9, which was written by a monk named Cyril in 1564 A.D. The evidence for this is sufficiently clear. Besides a perpetual recurrence of characteristic blunders, it reproduces the second index of unnumbered chapters at the commencement of c. xxi. It retains the false *ἐφ' ἁρματίαις* for *ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις* (Lomm. p. 103); and its absurd reading *οἱ αἱ αἰπόλοι* (p. 95) is explained when we

find that the word *αἰπόλοι* is divided in the older MS., so that *αἰ* comes at the end of the line. Once more, in Philoc. c. xviii = c. Cels. i. 9 (Lomm. ph. p. 100, c. Cels. p. 28) the Contra Celsum reading is *ἐλάττων ἵνα μὴ φορτικόν τι εἴπω*, while the ordinary Philocalia reading is *ἔλαττον ἵνα φορτικόν τι εἴπω*: but the first corrector of Paris 615 has thrust in *οὐ* between *ἔλαττον* and *ἵνα*, and has written *ω* above the *ο* of *ἔλαττον*. In the Basel MS. accordingly we find *ἐλάττων ἵνα οὐ φορτικόν τι εἴπω*.

It is also probable that the very imperfect MS. bound up with the 'Codex Regius' of the Contra Celsum (Paris. 945) is likewise a copy of Par. S. 615, as far as it goes. For besides a close general agreement of text, it has in c. xiii (Lomm. p. 67) the impossible *ἐχρῶτο* for *ἐχρῶντο*, which Par. S. 615 also had, until a late corrector wrote in the *ν* above the line. But the scribe has towards the latter part of the book merely made selections according to his own discretion; and he has omitted the index which would have exposed his shortcomings.

Besides these two MSS., Par. S. 615 has another batch of descendants, whose lineage is perplexing, because they embody corrections both from the c. Cels. text and from another Philocalia group. These are Monac. 523, Constantinop. 453, Ottob. 410, Bodl. Roe 8 and Cantab. Trin. Coll. O. 1. 10.

Monac. 523 is the 'Codex Augustanus' referred to by Hoeschel in the notes of his edition of the Contra Celsum. It contains marginal references to the pages of that edition, and also corrections in Hoeschel's hand from his c. Cels. text. It is a small quarto of the XVth or XVIth century. Between its leaves there lies as a book-marker part of a letter written to Hoeschel by a scholar of his day.

In the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a copy of this MS. interleaved with the Latin version of Genebrard, and containing a dedication by Hoeschel to Sir Henry Wotton. The Greek portion is dated 1604 A.D., and is stated on the presentation page to be 'ex codice Cyprio descripta manu Graecae linguae studiosi.' The same hand, I think, wrote out for the press, for Hoeschel's edition, a copy of the Contra Celsum, now preserved in the Library at Munich. Probably this Philocalia too was written out for publication. It has been

since collated with no. 147 in the Library of New College, Oxford.

The Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople contains a MS., from which, by the kindness of a friend of our University Librarian, I have obtained tracings and collations sufficient to prove that it not only comes from the same source as Monac. 523, but was written by the same scribe. This MS. like the two preceding contains at its close the curious words *τέλος τῶν φιλοκαλιῶν τοῦ ὠριγένους καὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξα.*

The Bodleian MS., Roe 8, ascribed to the XVIIth century, is perhaps another copy of Monac. 523. At any rate their intimate connection will be obvious as I proceed. It was brought to England 'from the East' by Sir Thomas Roe, Turkish Ambassador in 1628 A.D.

These MSS. have many indications which link them closely with Par. S. 615, e.g. the blunders *κατασκευαστέον...τῷ λόγῳ* and *θεραπεύσει* (p. 29), and *εἰσι τῷ θεῷ* (p. 30). The correction in Par. S. 615 already referred to, *ἐλάττων ἵνα οὐ φορτικόν τι εἴπω* (p. 100), is also faithfully reproduced. On the other hand they have several serious divergencies from the whole group of which that MS. is the earliest representative. Such new blunders as *τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας* (p. 74) and *χαίροντες ὀνομάζουσι* (p. 95) only serve to link them to each other: but they wittingly desert the common Philocalia text in reading *ὅπερ εἰλήφασιν* instead of *ὃ παρειλήφασιν* (p. 104, c. Cels. p. 29). And this return to a c. Cels. text is further illustrated by the readings *ἐπισώζεσθαι* (p. 75, c. Cels. p. 22) and *ἐπὶ τῷ* (p. 102, c. Cels. p. 27). These latter readings shew that they are corrected to that group of c. Cels. MSS. of which Par. S. 616 (A.D. 1340) is a chief exponent. And this is supported by the consideration that the two codices, Par. S. 615 and 616, must have lain together in some library in the XVIth century: for the Philocalia and Contra Celsum bound together as Basil. A. iii. 9 are copied from these MSS. respectively, and the same may probably be said of Delarue's 'Codex Regius,' Par. 945.

But even this does not account for all the variations of Monac. 523 from its archetype Par. S. 615. For it is corrected also in those passages which are not taken from the work

against Celsus. And here the changes appear to be made to a MS. akin to that from which the text of Tarinus is taken (see below, under Group III). For instance, it omits the second *γεγόναμεν* (p. 69) and reads *ἐφ' ἧς* (p. 67). It restores *εἴξαιεν* (p. 94) and *τρέχοντος* in the Index, where however it modifies the context by reading *οὔτε...οὔτε*.

On the whole then we may safely conclude that the scribe of Monac. 523 based his work on Par. S. 615, but embodied corrections in the C. Cels. passages from Par. S. 616, and elsewhere from a MS. akin to that used by Tarinus

In the Vatican there is another MS. of this class, Ottob. 410 (1578 A.D.). It is linked with the above and separated from all others by the complete omission of the words *τάδε ἔστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ*, and by several other characteristic agreements in the prefaces and index: e.g. *βιβλίων, φιλοσοφίας, συγχήσεως*. But it cannot, I think, be either a copy of Monac. 523 or its original.

The several descendants of Par. S. 615 therefore may be henceforward neglected, except in the passages in which that codex has been mutilated.

Side by side with Par. S. 615 we find a number of MSS. which offer the same general text, and yet demand an archetype of their own independent of that codex. These are Ven. 122 (with its copies, Monac. 52 and Taurin. B. 1. 6), Vat. 385, Athen. 191 and Vat. 429. These MSS. are linked together and separated from all others by the peculiar mistakes, *οὕτω* for *ὅτῳ* (p. 102), and *ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα* for *ἀπολογησόμεθα* (p. 98). Moreover they are frequently right where Par. S. 615 has blundered (e.g. *κατασκεναστέον...τῷ λόγῳ*, p. 29).

The most important of them, Ven. 122, fortunately bears its date, A.D. 1343. This is a MS. on paper, with 377 leaves, measuring $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in., and containing 30 lines on a page, written in a small and rapid hand with many contractions. It contains three works of Cyril of Alexandria, a treatise of Photius, and a letter sent by Thomas, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to the Armenian heretics. This letter had been dictated in Arabic by Theodore Abucara and translated into Greek

by Michael the Presbyter. Then ff. 289—377 contain the Philocalia.

There is a copy of this MS. at Munich; a XVth century codex, which came from Augsburg in the XVIth century among the books of Count Fugger. It does not seem to have been known to Hoeschel. It contains after the Philocalia the same treatise of Photius and also the letter of Abucara: and these are followed by the Clementine epitome of the Acts of Peter and a series of Basil's letters. The following mistakes find a full explanation in the writing of the Venice codex: ἐπιλυσῶν (pref.), συγγωμόνως (p. 86), ἀνεξαπλατήτων (p. 87), τίδε (p. 95), αἴσεως (p. 105); and, to give one crowning instance, at the end of chap. xiii. (p. 69), where Ven. 122 reads αὔξεις with the correction οι written in above the ει, Monac. 52 combines the two readings and gives us αὐξεισοι. There is another copy of Ven. 122 in Turin very similar to the Munich one, in the same kind of red leather binding, and I fancy by the same scribe. It ends, as the Munich one however does not, with the words from the Venice codex, τέλος εἴληφεν αἴσιον ἡ θαυμασία βίβλος τῆς φιλοκαλίας τοῦ ὠριγένους, but it does not go on to add a date.

The relation of Vat. 385 and Ath. 191 to Ven. 122 cannot be so satisfactorily determined. Vat. 385 contains two works of Maximus Monachus, the Philocalia on ff. 144—235, and other works of Basil and Gregory. It is a small quarto, pasted over in many parts where the bookworms have eaten through. It is written in a small and crabbed character, the letters often one on top of the other. At the bottom of f. 235 there is a signature hard to decipher, and in a much later hand.

Ath. 191 contains a short extract from Meletius τοῦ Πηγᾶ to the effect that Gregory and Basil knowing that Origen, though condemned by the Fifth Council, had yet said some sound things, had gathered these out from among the thorns and had made a Philocalia. Then ff. 2—295 contain the Philocalia, which is followed by a work of Michael Psellus on the divine foreknowledge, and also a work of Abucara, different however from the letter mentioned above, and broken off towards the close.

These two MSS. differ from Ven. 122 and from Par. S. 615

in the following passages. On p. 75 they read *καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων*, whereas Ven. 122 and Par. S. 615 have *ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων*, and all the rest, together with the c. Cels. MSS., have *καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων*. Here then the text of Ven. 122 and Par. S. 615 has received an addition from a MS. of another group. This is borne out by the next passage, p. 102. Here these two codices abandon the false reading *προστέταχεν* (Ven. 122 and Par. S. 615) and restore *προσέτυχεν*. Another correction—this time from the New Testament—is found on p. 3, where the universal Philocalia reading, *ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου ἐπίομεν* is corrected to the single word *προεφητεύσαμεν*.

There can be little doubt therefore that Vat. 385 and Ath. 191, while based on the text of Ven. 122, embody corrections partly from another group of Philocalia MSS., and partly from the New Testament. In the case of Ath. 191 the correcting process has gone a stage further; for it renounces such errors as *ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα* (p. 98), and *διώκοντος* in the Index, which is however written in a later hand. Each of these MSS. has mistakes of its own which shew that neither of them is copied from the other. It is quite conceivable that they both come from Ven. 122, but this is very uncertain.

We must here add Vat. 429, which contains a work of Basil, then the Philocalia (f. 69), and then a treatise of Cato the Roman. The scribe has turned the prefaces into queer iambics, and he gives us 22 lines more of the same sort at the end of the Philocalia. Where Vat. 385 and Ath. 191 differ by correction from Ven. 122, he remains in accord with it.

Of this second group then the only MSS. of real importance are Par. S. 615 of the XIIIth century and Ven. 122 which is dated 1343 A.D. The text it presents is decidedly more careless than that of either of the other groups; even when the numerous eccentricities of the earlier MS. have been corrected by a comparison of the later, which in spite of its inferiority in age offers on the whole a more satisfactory text.

III.

The third and last group is the largest of all, and quite the most confusing. But it yields at last to subdivision, and may be arranged in two classes, the first of which has three clear divisions within it very closely connected with each other. The second class is more miscellaneous and consists entirely of late MSS. Characteristic of the entire group is an omission on p. 156, where the words *καὶ οὐ κακίαν μὲν* are wholly wanting. Now in the representative MSS. of the first class the omission of these words is recognised by a blank space of a whole line, or part of a line. But in some later MSS. of the first class, and in all, as far as I know, of the second, the omission is silently made and no gap is left.

Other common readings of the entire group are *τὸ μεῖζον ὧν ἔχομεν* in Gregory's dedicatory letter: *τοῦ βίου τὰ πράγματα* (p. 103): and the omission of *ἕνα* before *ἐνόμισαν* (p. 95). Of course many other instances might be given: but these will suffice to link all these MSS. together as distinct from those of the first and second groups.

(i) We must now examine the first class in detail. Its three divisions are best represented by (1) Ven. 48, (2) Par. 456, and (3) Par. 940. Besides their very close correspondence of text, the MSS. of this class are linked together and separated from all others by the addition of *ἔτι* before the heading *εἰς τὸ ἐσκλήρυνε κύριος τὴν καρδίαν φαράω* at the close of the index. On the other hand, their variations are such that I think none of them can be a copy of either of the others.

(1) Ven. 48 is the oldest member of the whole group. It is a MS. of the XIVth century written by the same scribe as the Contra Celsum MS., Ven. 44. Its fly leaf is torn away, otherwise we should doubtless have read Bessarion's name as in that codex. It is a paper quarto with 220 leaves. There are no corrections, excepting a very few by the first hand as it seems; and this makes it the more difficult to detect what MSS. are copied from it. On f. 220 v is written, I think in Bessarion's hand, *ὠνησάμην τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἑνὸς χρυσίνου καὶ ἡμίσεως.*

At the top of f. 103 r, in chap. xxi (p. 170), there is written above the first line in red ink: *ἀ + εἰσ τὸ ἐσκλήρυνε κσ την καρδίαν φαράω.* This rubric refers to the sixth line, *Ἀρξώμεθα*, κ.τ.λ., at the end of which is a red *α*; and it must have been added as an afterthought, perhaps in the MS. from which Ven. 48 was copied. The subsequent sections have no such heading, but only numbers at the side. This stray rubric reproduces itself in various ways, and so forms another link between the various MSS. of Group III.

From Ven. 48 is copied a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (A. 165, saec. xv.). The following instances illustrate this connection. On p. 69 at the end of chap. xiii., Ven. 48 closes a line with *ἀλλὰ καὶ με* (sic) beginning the next line with *τοῦ θεοῦ γεγόναμεν.* The Milan MS. at first had simply *ἀλλὰ καὶ με τοῦ θεοῦ γεγόναμεν*, but then restored *μέτοχοι* by an abbreviated addition above the line. Again on p. 185 Ven. 48 reads *Οἱ γὰρ* instead of *εἰ γὰρ* the capital *ο* having been added by mistake afterwards instead of a capital *ε*. Mediol. A. 165 reads this as *Οἱ γὰρ.* At the close of this Milan Codex we find the strange sentence: *τέλος βίβλου τῶν κατὰ κέλσου· ἡ λεγομένη φιλοκαλία.* This forms a most convenient note of connection with several other MSS.

Thus it is found in Lugd. Bat. 61, one of the MSS. of Bonaventura Vulcanius. This scholar, who was a professor at Leyden, collated his codex at Geneva in A.D. 1574 with a MS which Beza lent him and which now, I think, lies in the same library, Lugd. Bat. 44 (see below p. 57). The scribe of Lugd. Bat. 61 adds to the sentence just referred to the words *τῷ θεῷ δόξα.* I think he wrote his copy from the Milan Codex.

In the Laurentian Library at Florence (Kk. 1. 39) is a parchment MS. of the XVth century, in quarto, ff. 181. Here the Philocalia is followed on f. 131 r by the Clementine Epitome of the Acts of Peter contained also in Monac. 52, which was itself written at Venice (see above p. 50). This MS. has the same concluding sentence as Mediol. A. 165: but it has mistakes of its own which shew that it cannot be the original of that MS. It may be copied from it, or written directly from Ven. 48 by the same scribe.

One other MS. with these same words is in the Vatican, Bibl. Reginensis 3. The Philocalia is preceded by Basil on Isaiah. It is ascribed to the XVth century. I know it only from the Catalogues.

Thus we have four MSS., Mediol. A. 165, Lugd. Bat. 61, Flor. Laur. Kk. 1. 39, and Vat. Regin. 3, all of which are probably copied from Ven. 48.

(2) Par. 456 bears the date 1426 A.D., and was brought to Paris from Constantinople. It is very closely related to Ven. 48, though not copied from it. The same may be said of Ottobon. 67, which is dated 1436 A.D., and also comes from Constantinople. Both of these MSS. contain Arrian's Expeditio Alexandri immediately after the Philocalia. And the Paris MS. prefixes to the Philocalia the following lines suggesting a comparison between the work of Origen and Alexander: I cannot be sure whether Ott. 67 has them or not.

εἰ μὲν θέλεις ἄνθρωπε θαυμάζειν βίον,
τύχας ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ πράξεις ἔχεις·
εἰ νοῦν δ' ἀτεχνῶς μυστικῶν ἑρμηνέα,
ὠριγένην θαύμασον ὃς τοῦτον ἔχει· κ.τ.λ.

These lines were doubtless composed by the scribe of Par. 456, or its archetype, if that also contained Arrian's work. They reappear in some later MSS. with some variations of text, though Arrian's work is not given and so the whole point of them is gone.

(3) Par. 940 is defective at the close, and is thus connected with two other MSS., both of which are probably copied from it. It is a paper MS. of the XVth century, 'olim Boistallerianus.' It contains, after the Philocalia, Basil's Homilies on the Hexaemeron, and two works of Gregory of Nyssa. It stops abruptly on f. 81 v, l. 14 with ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἀπαλότητος (Lomm. p. 270), and leaves a blank till f. 82 v, l. 7, where it goes on again with τῶν μετὰ τὰ τεράστια (p. 275), ending finally seven lines from the foot of f. 83 r with ὑλικὸς γάρ τις ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ (p. 277). This obviously points to a mutilated archetype.

A MS. given by Card. Pole to the Library of New College,

Oxford (no. 147) has exactly the same blanks. It is probably a sixteenth century copy of Par. 940.

Mediol. H. 101 is undoubtedly such a copy. It is written in the same clear hand as the four fragments of the Contra Celsum in the same Library. After *ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἀπαλότητος* it ceases entirely, and leaves two pages blank. Its origin is indisputably shewn by the index. For in the Paris Codex a piece of paper has been gummed in the inside margin over the numbers of the chapters following that *περὶ εἱμαρμένης*, in order to keep the leaf in its place. The scribe of the Ambrosian MS. faithfully omits the subsequent numbers which he could not read. But while the general text of this MS. is that of Par. 940, it has been modified by a recurrence to certain c. Cels. readings such as *λεκτέον δὲ* (p. 103) and *ὅπερ εἰλήφασιν* (p. 104). This is not the case with the New College MS.

By a most remarkable coincidence the sentence at which Par. 940 first breaks off has carried us just far enough to shew that the scribe had before him the true order of c. xxvii, which has been preserved to us in its completeness by Ven. 47 alone. For the sentence runs thus: *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ τὰ πρωτότοκά σου· ἆρα γὰρ ὁ σκληρύνων σκληρὸν σκληρύνει; σαφὲς δ' ὅτι τὸ σκληρὸν οὐ σκληρύνεται· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἀπαλότητος.* This extraordinary link of connection with Ven. 47 would be enough to upset our whole system of grouping, were it not that a closer examination reveals the fact that this last chapter has been copied from a source quite different from that of the earlier part of the MS., which is closely akin to Ven. 48 and Par. 456. As far as I have been able to judge, this chapter is not taken directly from Ven. 47; for it seems to avoid some errors of that MS., which would not have been corrected by reference to a MS. of the type of Ven. 48. But it is certainly from a MS. very closely allied to Ven. 47; and there are a few traces that the scribe consulted this other MS. even from the outset, though he did not use it as the basis of his text until he came to c. xxvii. For he deserts this whole third group in reading *ἐπεὶ* for their *ἐπειδὴ* in the opening sentence of c. i, and in restoring *μυθικὴν* for their false *αὐθεντικὴν* on p. 107.

The scribe of Par. 940 then must have written from a MS.

which was already mutilated when it came into his hands, but which had originally some such history as the following. Its first twenty-six chapters had been copied from a codex akin to Ven. 48 and Par. 456. After this the dislocation in c. xxvii must have been discovered, by the aid of a second MS. which had been referred to already from time to time. Accordingly the whole of that chapter was copied from this second MS., though perhaps in some cases the first MS. was still used to correct obvious errors. What this second MS. was cannot easily be determined. But, as I have said, it was probably not Ven. 47 itself. Possibly when the scribe of Ven. 47 found the error in c. xxvii he may have noted the rectification in the archetype from which he copied. A codex so corrected would be all the more likely to call attention to the faultiness of the ordinary copies.

We must include somewhere in this first class Vat. 1454, an incomplete MS., ending with *χρηστέον* (Lomm. p. 273); for it prefixes *ἔτι* to the last heading in the index.

This completes the first class of Group III. Obviously Ven. 48 must be regarded as the most important witness to its text, as it is indeed to the text of the whole group. If on any point doubt should arise, it would be solved by a reference to Par. 456 or Par. 940.

(ii) We go on to the somewhat miscellaneous second class, no MS. of which seems to be earlier than the XVIth century. It is linked with the first class by the omission, though without a gap, in c. xx (Lomm. p. 156); but separated from it by not reading *ἔτι* before the last section of the index, by the blunder *διαλύσεων* for *ἐπιλύσεων* in the preface, and by reading *λαμβάνειν ἢ διδόναι* for *διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν* on p. 103; and it sometimes gives right readings where the first class has gone wrong. This class has a peculiar interest as containing the MSS. on which the only complete printed text of the Philocalia, that of Joh. Tarinus in 1618, is based. The text of the Philocalia published by Lommatzsch is derived from this edition in those passages where the original works of Origen are not extant;

but in other parts the text of the original works, e.g. the Contra Celsum, has been substituted for the Philocalia text.

(1) The MS. from which Tarinus printed, Par. 458, contains after the Philocalia a work of Zacharias, Bishop of Mitylene, written in very large characters and dated 1541 A.D. This he edited at the same time, adding also the Opiniones de Anima, which he found in the 'Codices Thuani' of the Philocalia, the readings of which he reproduces in his notes.

Par. 457 and Par. 459 (A.D. 1543) are closely allied to Par. 458 and need not be further described.

Indeed for the rest of the MSS. of this class it would be useless, even if it were possible, to do more than present them in a rough grouping.

(2) The following are linked with Par. 456 by the reproduction of the Iambics mentioned above, but their text is different and belongs to this second class:

(*a*) Reading correctly *θέλεις*: Par. 941 (A.D. 1535) and, what is probably a copy of it, Lugd. Bat. 67.

(*b*) Reading *θέλῃς*: Flor. Riccard. K. 1. 13 and Vat. 1565. The beginning of the Riccardian MS. is wanting, but it can be gathered from Vat. 1565 which has the word *προθεωρία* before the preface, and *ἐπιστολή* before Gregory's letter. These peculiarities are common also to Lugd. Bat. 44, which is incomplete, ending as it does with *συγκατατίθενται τῷ διδάσκοντι* (Lomm. p 263). For these reasons therefore among others these three MSS. must be classed together.

The Riccardian MS. contains, after the Philocalia and the verses on Origen, some iambics of the monk Bessarion on the death of Theodora, followed by two other verse pieces, and an acrostic prophecy of Christ and the Cross by the Erythraean Sibyl. The verses of Bessarion are found also in Par. 456 and Par. 941. Now in E. Miller's catalogue of the Greek MSS. in the Escurial (pp. 332–386) may be seen the contents of an old catalogue made before the great fire of 1671. From this I gather that two MSS. of the Philocalia must then have perished. One of these is described as containing also certain verses of Bessarion and other writers, and also verses of the Erythraean Sibyl.

(3) The following too, belonging to this same class, have a

common bond in the heading *φιλοκαλία ἐκ τῶν ὡριγένους βιβλίων.....συλλεγεῖσα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, κ.τ.λ.*

Taur. B. vi. 25, containing Bk. II followed by Bk. I, and without index.

Par. 942 and Par. 943, 'Codd. Thuani,' also containing Bk. II followed by Bk. I, but incomplete, and with two indices.

Lastly, we must bring together here several incomplete copies, all probably of late date and quite unimportant.

Vat. 388 contains Bk. I only and has no preface or index. Although it has the same heading as the 'Codd. Thuani,' its text is quite different; e.g. its first chapter commences with *ἐπεὶ*, not *ἐπειδή*.

I am inclined to class with this a MS. in Vienna, no. 53 in the Catalogue of Lambecius, for the description of which, together with some tracings, I am indebted to the painstaking kindness of the late Mr H. W. Wallis, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. The MS. is extremely difficult to decipher, partly on account of the ravages of bookworms, but far more owing to a brown stain going through the whole book and covering about seven-eighths of each page. It agrees with Vat. 388 in reading *ἐπεὶ* at the beginning of c. i, and in containing only the first book. But my data for classification are small owing to the mutilation and illegibility of the codex.

In the Barberini Library at Rome (III. 84) there is a copy containing Bk. II only, as I gather from information kindly brought to me by Mr A. E. Brooke of King's College.

Among the Savile MSS. in the Bodleian (No. 11) there is a portion of Bk. II, namely cc. xxi, xxv and xxvii.

At Moscow, as may be seen by Matthaei's Catalogue, there are four very late fragments of Bk. II, which need not here be particularly enumerated.

There is also a complete copy of the Philocalia mentioned in the same catalogue (No. 12). I have been promised some further description of it, and have been hoping, up to the last moment, to receive it. Matthaei speaks of it as a paper MS. of the XVth century, and transcribes the following note from the last leaf: *ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τυγχάνει τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ξηροπο-*

τάμου, πριαθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ξενοφῶντος σὺν ἑτέροις πλείοσι βιβλίοις.

IV.

At this point a question naturally arises as to the relation between the three types of text which our enquiry has led us to distinguish, and the comparative value to be assigned to each of them. This is of course a very difficult matter, and one which cannot be properly settled without more material than I have at present collected. But a few hints, at any rate, will not be out of place here.

Beginning with the two later groups we may ask, Can evidence be produced to shew that Par. S. 615 and Ven. 48 have a common ancestor, which stands apart from the archetype of Group I? To answer this in the affirmative, instances must be collected in which these two MSS. have common blunders which are not found in Group I, and which are moreover such as an intelligent scribe would not have easily rectified. The following cases may perhaps serve this purpose.

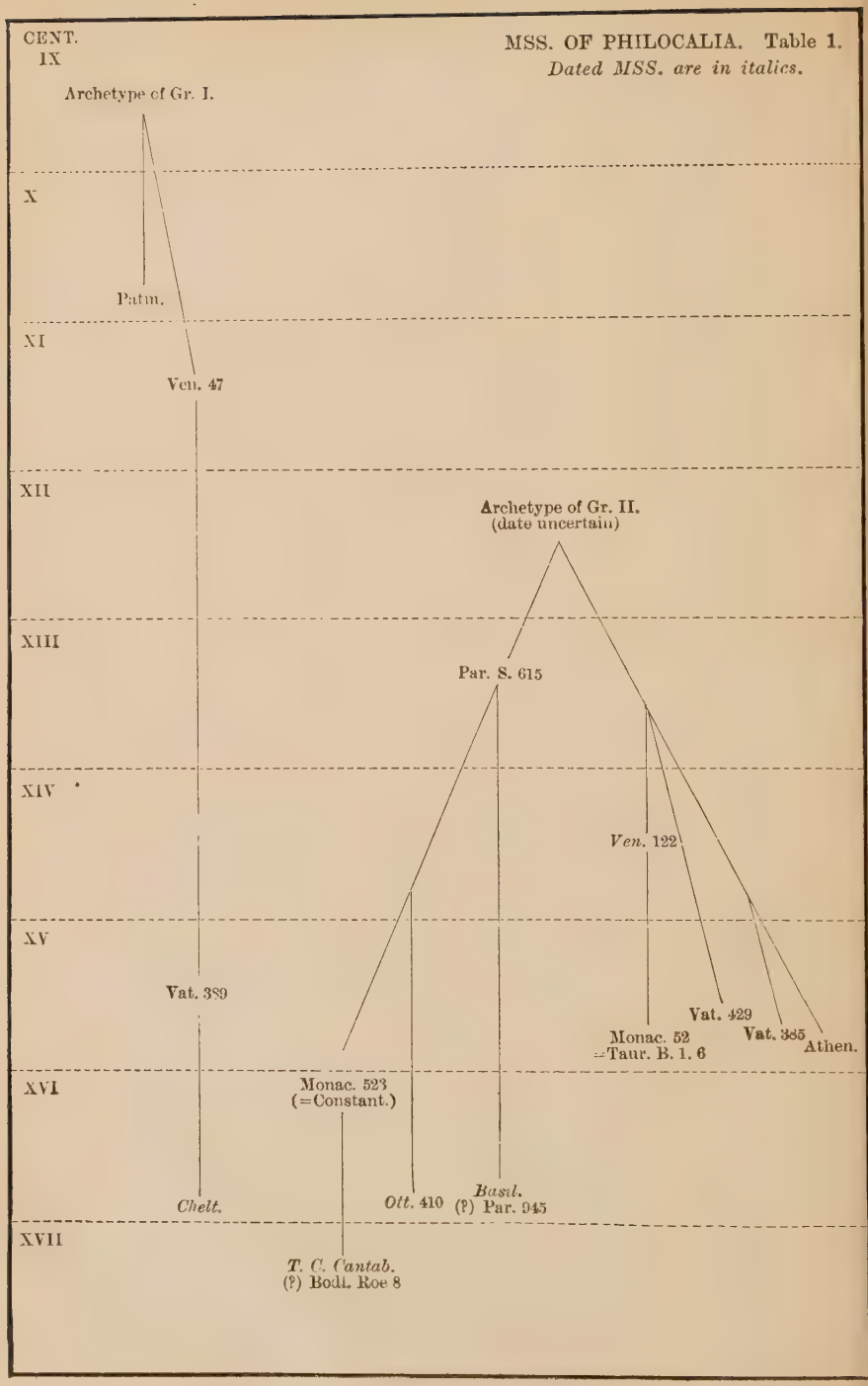
1. Lomm. p. 79, *οὐ φαίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* Patm., Ven. 47; om. Par. S. 615, Ven. 48.

This passage forms the close of a quotation from Plato's Crito, which is continued much further in the c. Cels. text: but if the compilers of the Philocalia had stopped before the words *οὐ φαίνεται*, it is not very probable that these two words, and no others, would afterwards have been appended. Hence we may conclude that they were in the original Philocalia; and if so it is difficult to suppose that the two MSS. in question omitted them quite independently.

2. Lomm. p. 111 (c. Cels. p. 112), *ἱκανοὺς πρὸς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἀρεσκόντως πλήθεσιν ἐπιλεξάμενος* Patm., Ven. 47. *ἱκανοὺς πρὸς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἀρέσκοντας πλήθεσιν ἀπολεξάμενος* Par. S. 615, Ven. 48.

Here a comparison of the c. Cels. text shews that both *ἀρέσκοντας* and *ἀπολεξάμενος* are probably wrong.

3. Lomm. p. 109 *οὕτως ἔχουσαν* c. Cels. MSS., Patm., Ven. 47. *ἔχουσαν οὕτως* Par. S. 615, Ven. 48.


CENT.
IX
MSS. OF PHILOCALIA. Table 1.
Dated MSS. are in italics.
Archetype of Gr. I.
X
Patm.
XI
Ven. 47
XII
Archetype of Gr. II.
(date uncertain)
XIII
Par. S. 615
XIV
Ven. 122
XV
Vat. 389
Vat. 429
Monac. 52
=Taur. B. 1. 6
Vat. 385
Athen.
XVI
Monac. 523
(=Constant.)
Chelt.
Ott. 410
Basil.
(?) Par. 945
XVII
T. C. Cantab.
(?) Bodl. Roe 8

CENT.
IX

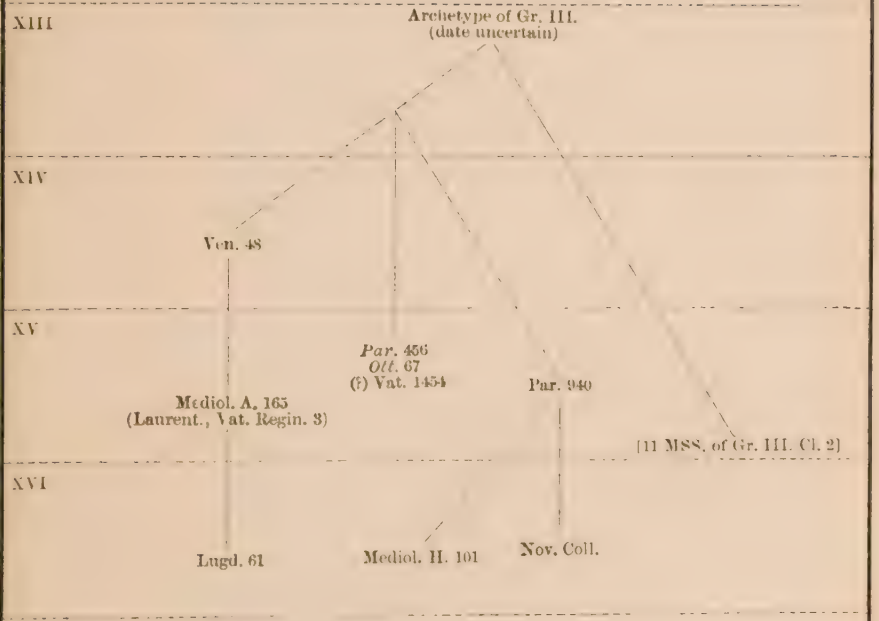
MSS. OF PHILOCALIA. Table 2.
Dated MSS. are in italics.

X

XI

XII

XIII



XIV

XV

XVI

XVII

4. Lomm. p. 107 εἶτ' ἐπεί φησιν c. Cels. MSS., Patm., Ven. 47.
εἶτ' ἐπάγει φησιν Par. S. 615, Ven. 48.

Here the mistake has arisen from a misreading of ἐπεί, and it destroys the sense.

We may therefore accept tentatively the theory of a common original for the second and third groups, giving us new blunders not found in the first group: unless indeed we prefer to suppose that the blunders have come from the original Philocalia, and that the archetype of Group I had received corrections from a Contra Celsum MS. The first group itself has a still larger share of mistakes which are not known to this original which we should thus postulate.

There is good reason to believe that, inferior as it is to the others in point of age, Ven. 48 offers us a text more free from errors than any other single MS. when taken by itself. Thus in c. xiii, which is not derived from the Contra Celsum, the Patmos MS. has ten certain mistakes and Ven. 47 has eleven; but only one of these is common to both MSS. In the same chapter Par. S. 615 has twenty-two mistakes, of which seven are peculiar to itself and not common to its group. In Ven. 48 however there are only four, or at the most five. This remarkable fact illustrates the danger of estimating the worth of a MS. solely by its date.

V.

I proceed now to give a short account of the Contra Celsum MSS. The smallness of their number, as compared with those of the Philocalia, makes the problem of their arrangement a much simpler one. They fall into three divisions, each of which can be shewn to be derived from an extant copy. I owe my knowledge of most of them largely to Mr Wallis, although I have examined all of them with some care except Vat. 386 and Vat. Palat. 309. The latter of these I know only from the Catalogue: the former from Mr Wallis's extensive collations, and from some notes and tracings brought me by Mr A. E. Brooke. For the grouping here suggested, however, I am myself responsible.

(1) The most important of all the MSS. is Vat. 386. It may possibly be as early as the XIIIth century: but this is doubtful. It contains the Panegyric on Origen by Gregory Thaumaturgus, which is prefixed to many copies of the Contra Celsum. At the end of the first book it has this note:

> *πρὸς τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον κέλσου ἀληθῆ λόγον ὠριγένους τόμος ᾱ :—*
> *μετεβλήθη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐξ ἀντιγράφων τῶν αὐτοῦ ὠριγένους βιβλίων.*

As early as the XIVth century it had been tampered with by erasure, as we shall see later on: and in the XVth or XVIth century a leaf had disappeared from Bk. ii. c. 13 (Lomm. p. 160) after the words *περὶ τοῦ συγκαταθέσθαι τοῖς*, the next leaf (f. 42 r) beginning *ματος ἵνα αὐτὸ τηρήσῃ, κ.τ.λ.* (Lomm. p. 165).

The earliest certain copy of Vat. 386 is Ven. 44. This is a XIVth century MS., which belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, and is a folio in the same hand as the Philocalia quarto, Ven. 48. The water-mark in the paper, a large V, though different from that of Ven. 48, is the same as that of the folio Ven. 43, which contains Origen's Commentaries on S. Matthew and S. John, written in a similar hand of the same period. This copy was made before the loss of the leaf just referred to. It contains the same note *μετεβλήθη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη, κ.τ.λ.* at the end of the first book. It has a curious mistake at the beginning of i. 2 (Lomm. p. 21), where it reads *ἐξ ἧς* for *ἑξῆς*. Here Vat. 386 now has *ἑξῆς*, but the breathing has been tampered with, and there are signs of erasure under the circumflex; whence we may conclude that, when Ven. 44 was copied from it, its reading was *ἐξ ἧς*. But it was written after certain erasures had been made in Vat. 386. Thus in that MS. in i. 32 (Lomm. p. 65) the words which I here enclose in brackets have been erased on account of their blasphemous character: they form part of one of Celsus's slanders about our Lord's birth: *ἐλεγχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ* [*καὶ τίκτουσα ἀπό τινος στρατιώτου Πανθήρα τοὔνομα*] *καὶ ἴδωμεν, κ.τ.λ.* Ven. 44 simply leaves out the erased words, giving no sign at all of an omission.

From Ven. 44 it is probable that the two Oxford MSS. are taken, Bodl. Gr. Misc. 21 and New College, No. 146. For these MSS. are of the XVth or XVIth century, and still they reproduce the erroneous ἐξ ἧς, together with other mistakes which are found in the Venice codex. They also agree with that codex in omitting the erased words in i. 32, without leaving any gap. The New College MS. has been corrected by the aid of a MS. of the third division, and also of a Philocalia MS. akin to that of Tarinus. The corrector has himself copied out afresh the first book and two chapters of the second, embodying his own corrections: he breaks off with καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς (Lomm. p. 138) at the end of a page. This fragment is now in the Bodleian Library.

Another MS. copied from Ven. 44 is Vat. Palat. Gr. 309. It was written by John Mauromates in 1545 A.D. He was a Corcyraean who wrote in Venice; see Gardthausen, Gr. Palaeogr. p. 327. This MS. contains the note μετεβλήθη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη, κ.τ.λ. It ends with the words which Hoeschel places at the close of the text in his edition: δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. There can be no doubt that this is the 'Codex Palatinus' which Hoeschel used: and hence the false reading οἱ πιστοὶ, instead of εἰ πιστοὶ, which is found in Hoeschel's margin in ii. 8 (Lomm. p. 146), and is common to Ven. 44 and the Oxford codices, but is not found in Vat. 386, may serve as an additional proof that it is copied from Ven. 44.

In the Ambrosian Library at Milan (I. 119 P. inf.) there is a fragment which contains Bk. I. and part of Bk. II. It ends with the words ἀπιστῶν μὲν αὐτῷ (Lomm. p. 160); that is to say, two lines before the passage contained in the lost leaf of Vat. 386. It adds the following note: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιγράφου μᾶλλον δὲ πρωτοτύπου πρὸς τὸ παρὸν, φύλλου ἑνὸς ἐκκοπέντος, ἔλειπε τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ἀρκούντως πληρώσειν τόδε τὸ λιτάδιον, ἐξάγγελται πρωτοτύπου εἰ εὑρεθείη ἐκγραφησόμενον, οὗ χάριν καὶ ἀφείθη λιτάδιον. For the corrupt ἐξάγγελται a conjectural emendation is added by the same hand: f. εἰ ἐξάλθη που vel ἐξ ἀνελλιποῦς. Now the fact that all this is in the same handwriting shews that the note itself was in the MS. from which the scribe copied: and hence that earlier MS., with its blank leaf left in hope of future completion, must have been copied from

Vat. 386 after the leaf was torn away. The general text of the Ambrosian fragment bears out this relationship. Thus (Lomm. p. 27) it adopts as its text *μηναγύρταις*, which is in the margin of Vat. 386, and was possibly not there at all when Ven. 44 was copied. There are three other copies of this fragment in the same library, all written by this same scribe and ending with the same note.

The fragment has a special interest on account of its marginal notes. One of these, headed *γενναδίου*, compares the Western with the Asian opinion about Origen, and declares that he was the real author of the heresies of Aetius and Arius: it also condemns his heresy, *ὅτι καὶ τέλος τίθησι τῆς κολάσεως*. Again, after several omissions have been made in the passages containing the slanders about our Lord's birth, there is this note: *ταῦτα ἦν οὕτω λιτάδια ἐν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ· μὴ ἀνασχομένου τοῦ γραφέως τότε ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδ' ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς κέλσου, τὰς κατὰ τῆς πίστεως θεῖναι φλυαρίας ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν· καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὸ βιβλίον, τοῖς συνημμένοις ἐμφαινομένων.*

(2) The MS. next in importance to Vat. 386 is Par. S. 616, which was written by Lucas Monachus for the emperor Andronicus III. in 1340 A.D. A note at the beginning by a later hand tells us that when the codex came into the possession of Manuel Rhetor he erased the name of Andronicus. It is a parchment MS. with large red headings and capitals. It prefixes Gregory's Panegyric, and adds the Exhortatio ad Martyrium. It differs from Vat. 386 in the headings of the books, and by the absence of the note *μετεβλήθη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη κ.τ.λ.*, which does not occur outside the first division. It also avoids some of the obvious blunders of that MS., such as its original *ἐξ ἧς* (Lomm. p. 21), and the misspellings *ἡρώδοτον* and *κιτιεύς* (p. 24). In the Panther passage (i. 32, Lomm. p. 65) it merely omits the words *καὶ τίκτουσα*, giving what follows as it is read in the text of Lommatzsch, and leaving no gap.

From Par. S. 616 are copied Basil. A. iii. 9 and Par. 945, the 'Codex Regius' of Delarue. Each of these contains the Exhortatio ad Martyrium, and with each of them is also bound up a copy of the Philocalia, derived from Par. S. 615. The Basel MS.

is mutilated at the beginning, or it probably would contain, like Par. 945, Gregory's Panegyric. It begins with the words *καὶ γῆν σπειρομένην* (i. 11, Lomm. p. 32); and at once we trace the peculiar blunders of its parent, found also in Par. 945, in the omission of *τοῦ νόμου καὶ* and *δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοιοῦτόν τι πεποιηκέναι* (p. 34); and in such false readings as *τετολμημένον* (p. 33), and *ὥστε* for *ὥετο* (p. 35). Each copy has blunders of its own which shew that neither can have been written from the other. Par. 945, however, presents a serious difficulty by omitting *βουλομένῳ* in the opening sentence of Bk. I, an omission otherwise peculiar to the third division. It also reads *Ἕλλησι* instead of *ἔθνεσι* in i. 13 (Lomm. p. 37). And yet its descent from Par. S. 616 cannot well be doubted. Thus, to give two further instances, in Bk. VII. (Lomm. p. 5) that MS. writes *λέγεται*, and then corrects above the line into *λέγεσθαι*, and Par. 945 embodies the correction, and the same thing happens with *μαγικὴν* and *μανικὴν* on the same page. The second of the two difficulties might be explained as a recurrence to the *lectio vulgata* of S. Paul: and this is no doubt the true account of its appearance as a correction in Ven. 45, the parent of the third division. But on the whole I incline to believe that in both these cases the scribe of Par. 945 has modified the text of Par. S. 616 by reference to some MS. of this third division.

(3) The third division is the largest, but all its MSS. are descended from one parent, Ven. 45. This is a paper MS. in quarto, probably of the latter part of the XIVth century. It prefixes Gregory's Panegyric, the beginning of which has been mutilated: and then on f. 6 r the preface to the Contra Celsum commences without either heading or capitals, these being omitted throughout the book. At the end it has what are described in the Catalogue as Selections from Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Bk. v. It has been a good deal corrected, and the corrections are of two distinct periods at least. In i. 11 (Lomm. p. 32) it reads *σπεύδων* instead of *πιστεί̓ων*, and an early marginal note in black ink gives *ἐλπίζων ἢ πιστεύων*. On the same page the same hand has written *εὐδοκη* in the margin over against *τολμήσαντι*; and on p. 35 *εἰπεῖν* over against *ἰδεῖν*. These suggested emendations, which I believe to

be purely conjectural, are reproduced in various ways in the different MSS. of this division.

Perhaps the earliest copy of Ven. 45 is Lugd. Bat. 17: for it alone retains the ὡς which is erased in Ven. 45 after δυνάμεως (i. 2, Lomm. p. 21); an erasure possibly made by a scribe acquainted with the Philocalia text which omits this ὡς. The other copies need only be enumerated. They are Ven. 46, from which Par. S. 293, the 'Codex Jolianus,' comes: Vat. 387, of which two small fragments of the first book in the Ottobonian Collection (35 and 75) seem to be copies: and Monac. 64, written by Andreas Darmarius, a prolific scribe of the XVIth century (cf. Gardth. Gr. Pal. pp. 312, 313); of which again there is a copy in the same library made for Hoeschel, and by him corrected for the press (Monac. 517).

Ven. 45, the parent of all these, must be held responsible for many errors; such as the omission of βουλομένῳ in i. 1, and the blunders ἐκείνων and τυράννων in the same chapter.

What then can be said as to the relation between these three principal MSS.,—Vat. 386, Par. S. 616 and Ven. 45? The evidence, as far as I have been able to investigate it, is very conflicting. Vat. 386 has so many corrections and marginal notes that it often seems to afford in itself the explanation of the variants in the other two. And so it is quite conceivable that it is actually the parent of all the existing MSS. On the other hand it may be reasonably contended that we have at least two types of text, and that the corrections of Vat. 386 have been derived from some ancestor of Par. S. 616. I do not feel myself at present capable of giving a decided opinion on this difficult point.

In conclusion, a few words must be said as to the comparative excellence of the Contra Celsum and Philocalia texts, in those passages which the compilers of the latter book derived from the former. As might naturally be expected the palm is carried off by the text of the original work. Gregory and Basil had no special motive for a very scrupulous accuracy; and there is no doubt that besides the slight literary alterations which were

sometimes necessary to introduce their extracts, they made a considerable number of mistakes from which the Contra Celsum text has remained free. Thus if we take the first important extract, c. Cels. i. 9—11 (Philoc. c. xviii. ad init.), the result of the comparison of the two texts when critically ascertained is that where the Philocalia differs from the Contra Celsum it is generally inferior to it. In fact the Contra Celsum readings often must be right, and for the most part are preferable. No edition then of the Philocalia text can be satisfactory which neglects the Contra Celsum readings. But on the other hand it is to be noted that no divergence in the Philocalia is, as far as I have seen, of more than verbal importance; and there is no ground whatever for the supposition that the Philocalia, as we have it, has been tampered with from doctrinal motives.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

EXCERPTS FROM THE VERRINES

IN THE HARLEIAN MS 2682 IN RELATION TO THE ERFURT MS, AND THE REGIUS PARISIENSIS NO. 7744 A.

THE textual criticism of the Verrines has been the subject of much controversy. For the fourth and fifth speeches it was established by Madvig's Critical Letter to Orelli [Copenhagen 1828] that there was a 'melior familia' of MSS, and that the Regius 7744 A, a MS of the ninth century, was the chief representative of this. He used an old collation of this styled the "Havniensis collatio," which he prints in full. Zumpt, whose edition appeared in 1831, arrived independently at the same conclusion. Since the appearance of Madvig's treatise R has been many times collated, and has continually gained in importance. The different collations are discussed by Jordan in Jahn's Jahrbücher 1849, p. 50. He and Halm are agreed that the Havniensis collatio is that of the Paris MS, a fact about which there had been some doubt. The latest collation is that of M. Thomas [Paris 1887], who records by italics all deviations from its text, and gives all its corruptions in his critical notes.

The importance of R may be judged from the fact that the majority of editors from Zumpt downwards have preferred its readings to those found in the fragments of the Vatican palimpsest, which Mai considered to belong to the time of the early Empire. Meusel has written an elaborate monograph on the subject, "Utri major fides habenda sit, palimpsesto Vaticano an Regio Parisiensi," Berlin, 1876. He only consents to follow V as against R in one place, and Thomas follows R throughout. The conclusions of Meusel are adopted by C. F. W. Müller

(Leipsic, 1880). With this controversy we have nothing to do, since there is only one fragment of V for the excerpts in question.

With R are associated a group of MSS giving the same tradition, but admittedly inferior, sc. two Wolfenbuttel MSS [G 1. 2] and one Leyden [Ld]. There is also a vetus codex of Stephanus and another of Lambinus, of which Madvig identifies the second and Jordan [Jahn's Jahrbücher 1849, p. 59] the first with R. Speaking generally the Gallica familia, or 'melior familia,' is included under R_3.

The Regius contains only Verr. iv. and v.; for Verr. iii. the Lagomarsinian MS no. 29 [Florence Mediceus, plut. XLVIII. cod. 29] of the 15th century, and Lag. 42 are held to be the best authority for the entire speech. Zumpt used a collation of these by Niebuhr, and C. F. W. Müller a new collation made by Reifferscheid. It will thus appear that the evidence for Verr. iii. is six centuries later than for iv. or v.

Besides however the Regius and Lag. 29 the well-known Erfurt MS has certain selections, one from Verr. iii. and a considerable number from Verr. iv. The MS is called a 'nobilissimus codex' by Halm [zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceronischen Schriften]. Graevius considered it the best MS for Cicero generally: he says of it "omnium optimus fuit Erfurtensis quam saepe videre desideravit Gruterus." Also "quae sit ejus bonitas et praestantia docebunt animadversiones nostrae in quibus cognosces non paucas labes ejus auctoritate me abstersisse, quae omnes editiones contaminabant." In the closest possible connection with the Erfurt MS stand two other German MSS, the Palatinus Sextus, also used by Graevius, and a MS belonging to the German theologian Melchior Hittorp, called the Hittorpianus, used largely by Gruter. The tradition of the Pal. Sextus is very defective, and the Hittorpianus so far as the Verrines are concerned is merely a transcript of the Erfurt MS. Cp. Zumpt, "Melchioris Hittorpii schedae...excerpta sunt codicis Erfurtensis, qua de re dubitatio nulla esse potest." So Jordan "Erfurtensis ex quo Melchioris Hittorpii schedae excerptae sunt."

The Pal. Sex. and the Hitt. therefore as being replicas of E are now no longer referred to by editors, while E is looked

on as the representative of the family. Its readings have been published in extenso by Wunder [Variae lectiones ex codice Erfurtensi, Leipzig, 1827]. It is now at Berlin [MSS Latini fol. 252]. As to its age Wunder says "tantum mihi videor confirmare posse codicem Erfurtensem non serius quam seculo XIV° esse scriptum." Since then greater antiquity has been claimed for it. M. Thomas [1887] who obtained a new collation of it from Nohl and Stock says it belongs to the 12th century. For the Verrines it is of great importance. Wunder says "magna diligentia haec Verrinarum pars in codice Erfurtense scripta reperitur" (p. xciv). Zumpt ranks it immediately after the Regius for Verr. iv. and in the excerpt from Verr. iii. ranks it above Lag. 42 which in the rest of the speech he chiefly follows. Thus Verr. iii. ch. 2, § 5, he says, "restituissem, nisi illud in Lag. 42, et quod plus etiam mihi est in frag. Erf. esset." This has been the theory of subsequent editors: sc. that E is the second best authority for Verr. iv. and in the fragment from iii. possibly comes first. Its chief value lies in the fact that it is an independent witness to the Regius. Jordan shews that frequently it and R agree against other MSS, while sometimes it is inferior to R. Thomas the latest editor, and the most thoroughgoing admirer of R, says that it shews "en beaucoup de passages une ressemblance assez grande avec le Regius," and in some passages follows its readings against R. To sum up, in critical editions E figures most prominently for the passages it covers with Lag. 42, 29, and R.

Of late years another MS closely allied to E has been coming into notice: the Harleian 2682. This, like E, contains a large number of works by Cicero, and, like it, the very same selections from the Verrines. Also, both E and H contain an extraordinary introduction to the Milo, in which, among many other odd statements, we are told that Milo was banished to Tomi in Scythia. [Of the Hittorpianus and the Pal. Sext. in this connection nothing is recorded.] It is thus obvious, that H is a fourth MS to be brought into connection with the three already mentioned, sc. E, the Hittorp. and the Pal. Sext.

The MS was first described at any length by Franz Rühl in the Rheinisches Museum, 1875, no. XXX., p. 26. He was

chiefly interested in the Epp. ad Familiares where he shews that H has a number of valuable readings, and is a witness independent of the Mediccan MS, which Orelli had held to be the archetype of all existing MSS. Since then it has been much used by Prof. Tyrrell in his brilliant edition of the letters, an edition the critical value of which depends largely upon his collation of this MS for the latter half of the Epp. ad Fam., as upon that of another Harleian MS [H 2773] for the first half. Prof. Tyrrell collated the MS and described it at great length in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, and printed in his edition of Cic. Letters [vol II. p. lxvii.]. His conclusion is that for the Epp. ad Fam. H is a 'brother' of Pal. Sext. and the Erf. MS and the 'father' of the Hitt. It is upon his paper that my remarks are chiefly based.

The first point to settle is the date of the MS. As to this Prof. Tyrrell makes two statements which I cannot reconcile. In vol. I. p. 75 quoting Rühl he assigns it to the eleventh century. In vol. II. p. lxvii. he says "as well as I could judge from undoubted specimens of thirteenth century writing this MS belongs to that age, and such is also the opinion of Rühl." This however is not the opinion of Rühl, who in the Rheinisches Museum says that he and Lagarde agree in assigning it to the eleventh century. Also I have had the advantage of the authoritative opinion of Mr Maunde Thompson, who says that "it cannot well be later than the end of the eleventh century." H is therefore two centuries older than stated by Prof. Tyrrell, and a century older than the earliest date claimed for E [sc. by M. Thomas].

The characteristics of the MS have been briefly described by Rühl and fully by Prof. Tyrrell. A curious feature in it is that three speeches, the pro Marcello, pro Ligario, and pro rege Deiotaro, are given twice, the duplicate in each case belonging to a different family. Rühl, however, quotes another Cic. MS in which there is a similar repetition, and remarks that the style of handwriting is the same throughout, though there are several hands, each writer having a quaternion to himself. To the description given by them I would add a few remarks, bearing upon the excerpts from the Verrines. Mr Maunde

Thompson tells me that he believes it to be a MS bought by Harley on Oct. 20, 1725, from Zamboni, the resident for Hesse-Darmstadt. The selection from Verr. iii. begins on fol. 159b, immediately after the curious introduction to the Milo already mentioned, and in the same line with it. This is out of place in H, but comes before the Milo in E. There is no mark of division, the passage running "missus est Milo sententia iudicum in tomeas Scythiae. Omnes qui...." The archetype appears to have been in capitals. Sometimes we find stray capitals surviving, e.g. Verr. iv. 67 querimoniam, M § 74 IH suus (edd. in suis), § 97 fano R (edd. fanorum). So § 73 iumera looks like corruption of HI-. The very frequent cases of faulty division point to the same conclusion, e.g. § 68 at qua mi cum = atque amicum, § 94 duceti marchi derepente = duce Timarchide repente, § 101 tam scelera tam actam = tam sceleratam ac tam. A large number of corrections have been made, especially in the selections from Verr. iv. Some of the alterations appear to have been made by the writer, others by the corrector, who obelised letters, joined words, e.g. emblema is always written è blema and joined by second hand—though some cases of faulty division, e.g. duceti marchi derepente, § 94, are left by him—wrote other readings above the line, and in one case filled up a blank by an unblushing conjecture. There are cases of readings in liturâ which seem due to a still later hand, e.g. § 38, Verri altered to viro. Some simple slips have been corrected by these semi-learned persons, but as a rule they corrupted the text. The whole value of the MS lies in the first hand. In this respect it resembles the well known Lag. 42, of which Leon Aretino said "hic liber cum ab initio recte scriptus fuisset, postea corruptus est ab homine qui, quum vellet eam corrigere, corrupit. Quare priorem litteram accipe, correctiones reiice."

Prof. Tyrrell in his paper thus notices the Verrine schedae. "These fragments are very accurately written, and superior to the copy of Erf., e.g. the words omitted in Erf. at 347. 25, 26 mittit etiam...te mittitur; 365. 10—12 dies ille...contio, are found inserted in H. It has however often been altered by a second hand to the reading of E." His view then for the

Verrines as for the Epp. is that H and E are connected by brotherhood, and that H has been brought into harmony with E. I will at once state the conclusion to which I have been led by a minute collation of H. H is for the Verrine schedae the very MS from which E was copied. Every omission and blunder in E is to be explained directly from the peculiarities of H. It is not the case that H has been altered in conformity to E. H was first corrupted by a second hand, and then the corruptions were faithfully transcribed by E. Finally, as previously pointed out, H is a century older than E. In other words H is the father, and E the very degenerate son. E possesses no independent value, and only deserves attention on account of the insight which it affords as to the way in which the degradation of the text took place.

The relation of the two MSS to each other is at once shewn by a glance at one of the omissions in E. This is Verr. iv. § 110, where E omits dies ille cum ego Hennam venissem praesto mihi sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis ac verbenis fuerunt, contio, which omission would naturally lead one to suspect that the scribe in copying his original had missed a line. As a matter of fact the passage does occupy one line of H thus:

dies ille cum ego henuam uenissem presto mihi sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis ac uerbenis fuerunt, contio,

This I imagine proves to demonstration that the writer of E had H and no other MS before his eyes. Such a belief is rendered doubly certain by an inspection of the other omission, iv. § 63, where E omits mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum, velle se eam diligentius considerare, ea quoque ei mittitur. This is written in H thus:

libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum, velle se eam diligentius considerare, ea quoque ei mittitur. Nunc.....

Here again it is one entire line that has fallen out. The copyist's eye has travelled from dedit in the line above to nunc in that below.

After this it is not surprising to find that H contains the clue to the minutest corruptions in E. Thus § 41, neque solum reos fieri sed etiam absentes. E reads absurdly absente. The explanation is that in H we find absentis given by the prima

manus, the e superscribed by the corrector and the i obelised, thus, -i̇s. The E copyist thought both letters were cancelled and so gives e only. So § 62 satis gravem testem...dicere audistis. In H audis- ends a line, and the E writer has repeated the is at the beginning of the next line.

§ 67. Id etsi antea. E reads id si antea. In H the et comes in fine paginae, the si being on the reverse side of the page. Hence the omission.

§ 95 alii deligatum omnibus membris rapere. This in H is written alli de [in fine paginae] ligatum. A second hand adds ~ sc. alli-dē for allidere, which is nonsense, and reproduced by E.

I could go on multiplying instances but I have preferred to put the results in a tabular form.

For the selection from Verr. iii. Wunder gives 42 variants from E. In 31 cases these are also in H. The 11 cases of difference are thus made up. In § 6 the prima manus gives anno by a blunder for animo, which is rectified by the corrector, and the correction appears in E. In nine cases E is wrong, once it omits a word negotii, § 1, making nonsense. Six times it corrupts or misreads H, e.g. § 6 cum tua uerbera, cum secures, H has ūba, E verba, i.e. the stroke through the b was not noticed. So § 8 hunc vestri janitores...diligunt, E gives larutores a misreading of H where the i was originally written l. [So § 95 alli for alii, and mollebantur for moliebantur.] The other cases are § 2 declinarit H declararit E, § 3 precipitur H percipitur E, § 6 fixas H fixa E, § 9 abundatis H abundans E. Twice E accepts a ridiculous corruption of the second hand § 6 Mitto jam rationem officii mei necessitudinisque siculorum, where the second hand gives singulorum. So ib. ex thensarum orbitis, the sec. man. and E absurdly extrinsecarum orbitas. In the remaining passage, in the same section, H has a corruption anni for an tu [An tu majores ullas inimicitias...] altered by second hand to anne, so E.

I have already mentioned that a Lagomarsinian MS [Lag. 42] is the chief authority for the text of Verr. iii. but that for the few sections contained in it E divides the honours with Lag. 42, and by Zumpt is ranked above it. Obviously H is of much more

importance. The date of Lag. 42 is nowhere stated. The other six Lag. MSS with which it is coupled are all of the xvth cent. If Lag. 42 is of the same period, it would be four centuries later than H. On comparing the 10 sections which H includes with Jordan's text in Baiter and Halm's Orelli, it will be found that there are 21 variants. In seven of these J. reads against the consensus of H and Lag. so that these do not affect the claims of the two rival MSS.

These are 236. 5 continentiae] om. H, Lag. so Z. It is however in the Vat. palimpsest. 237. 3 accusarint] accusarent H, Lag. ib. 8 voluptate] voluntate H, Lag. ib. 10 omnibus] hominibus H, Lag. ib. 17 is qui] om. is H, Lag. ib. 18 deprehenditur] reprehenditur H, Lag. and so apparently all MSS. 238. 14 arbitrare] so edd. e conj. arbitrarer H and all MSS.

In four cases J. follows Lag. 42 as against H.

237. 4 quantulum dicere] om. dicere H, so Z. ib. 10 ut ab iis se abstineant] ut ab iis abstineant Lag., ut his abstineant H, so Z. ib. 22 judices mihi] mihi iudices H, so Z. 238. 33 vixerint] vixerunt H. In three of these cases it will be noticed H agrees with Z as against Jordan.

Eight cases are clerical blunders in H. 236. 4 negotii] negotio H. 236. 15 L. Crasso] classo. ib. 19 munitus] minitus H. 237. 4 qui iam] quam H. ib. 6 praecideremus] praediceremus H. ib. 30 An tu] anni H. ib. 34 nos ita] nostra H.

In one case H preserves the older spelling 238. 30 cubiculari [-ii J.].

In one case H differs from all edd. and MSS and gives a new reading which I should wish to discuss later on. In other cases its good readings are already known through E and Lag. 42 with which it is in very close agreement, though it is, I think, on the whole superior to it. The crucial passages are 236. 21 quo minus etiam praecipitur eorum virtus] H gives praecipitur, being the only MS in which this reading certainly occurs. Lag. gives percipitur a corruption also in E, vulg. perspicitur. In Jordan's critical note he gives dubiously two MSS of Lallemand and the Hittorp. as having the same reading, but with a signi-

ficant mark of interrogation. So 238. 16 qui praesertim plus etiam...suscipere debeam] Qui of course is necessary, but was previously read by conjecture. Zumpt says omnes codices, cui, notabili vitio: Jordan, cui, omnes Lagg. H has qui.

It would thus appear that in H we possess for the 10 sections contained in it a MS superior to Lag. 42. I think therefore that in three of the passages previously alluded to the weight of the critical evidence is in favour of the reading found in H and already adopted by Z. rather than in that of Lag. 42 and adopted by Jordan.

It is however in Verr. iv. that one meets with the most interesting results. For this I have made two collations of H, one in relation to E, and the other in relation to the famous Regius.

In Verr. iv. Wunder gives 253 variants from the text of Ernesti, as occurring in E. Of these 193 are also found in H, so that only 60 cases call for remark.

In copying H the Erfurt writer made four omissions, twice a whole line of the MSS as previously set forth and twice single words, § 48 qui cum in convivium venisset, E om. venisset, § 78 cum inanis esset basis, E om. basis.

E twice alters the spelling of H sc. § 47 adferebant H, aff- E, § 75 Adfricani H, Aff- E. In a third case E varies a faulty spelling, § 119 tempnites H, temnites E [Temenites, edd.].

E once alters the order of H, § 123 imagines Siciliae H, Siciliae imagines E.

In 13 cases E blunders in copying H, § 38 ut H, et E, § 42 isti H, istum E, § 49 emblemate H, emblate E, ib. conuiuis H, conviviis E, § 62 audistis H, audissetis E, § 65 hominum H, hominem E, § 67 etsi H, si E, § 79 isti H, ista E, § 94 agrigenti H, agrigentini E, § 95 lababat H, labebat E, § 96 effringunt H, effingunt E, § 99 cereris H, ceteris E, § 118 plenissimus H, plenissimis E.

These are pure blunders on the part of the copyist, "quas humana parum cavit natura." In other cases he follows the second hand, generally to the detriment of the text. To this class the other variants from Wunder's readings belong. They are 39 in number.

Five are questions of spelling, e.g. turribulum §§ 47, 48, 54, monimentum § 73 [et sic semper, W.], thure § 77. In these cases H has turi^r^bulum, monumen^i^tum, tu^h^re, and E adopts the superscription.

In seven other cases letters have been obelised in H, and the correction rightly adopted by E.

§ 40 in prouinciam illa^u^m H, illam E, § 48 eschy^it^lo H, eschylo E, § 75 tu mi^a^hi^t^ minari H, tum minitari E, § 78 enuntia^t^bit H, -at E, § 79 li^t^beris H, literis E, § 122 effugere^a^nt H, -ant E, § 124 u^av^illarum H, valvarum E.

In two cases verbal alterations have been rightly made and followed, § 54 iis opus defuit H^his opus non defuit^, § 73 suscipio H^cum scipio^, where E has the reading superscribed.

In the other 25 cases where E has followed other than the original writing of the prima manus, serious consequences to the text have been the result.

In two cases the writing of the pr. m. has been erased by a late hand and the reading in liturâ reproduced by E. § 38 ũri pr. m. [sc. Verri, the usual abbreviation, e.g. § 62 ũres, re^er^written by sec. m. ures] clumsily altered to viro, § 39 qui ũre uenissent pr. man., qui praeuenissent sec. man. and E.

In 11 cases the true reading has been corrupted. Six are cases of improper obelisation, § 41 trienniu^o^m H, -o E, § 59 tinctu^a^ H, -am E, § 66 quo^i^d H, qui E, § 119 libere^i^ H, -i E. In five a corruption has been superscribed, § 62 tri pr. m. sc. tritici; tribus sec. m. and E, § 94 mulcati pr. m., multati sec. m. and E, § 97 supellectuli pr. m., -tilibus sec. m. and E, § 99 antistite pr. m., -es sec. m. and E, § 118 proiecta pr. m., porrecta sec. m. and E.

In one case a blank space has been left by the pr. m. and filled up by a silly conjecture in a different hand, § 96 signum, quod erat notum uicinitati, bucina datur. The pr. m. has a blank for bucina: the sec. m. gives per ipsos, so E.

In 11 cases the second hand found a corruption in H and endeavoured to emend by conjecture.

§ 41 non ţimetu ac timore pr. m. Here there is a corruption, pudore sed being om. The sec. m. obelises non ti which is left out in E, the evidence of the corruption being thus removed.

§ 49 emblemate uellenda, a corruption pointing to emblemata evellenda the true reading. The sec. m. gives -ta uellenda, so E.

§ 61 hi ipsos te aquam temporibus pr. m. a faulty division for ii postea quam. The sec. m. emends ipsis temporibus postquam, so E. This case is of great interest on account of the similar corruption in R to be subsequently mentioned.

§ 62. uocabit pr. m. for vocavit, the writer confusing b and v. The sec. m. emends to uocabat, so E.

§ 64. sit rege quo dico pr. m. for reges ii quos dico [so the Regius, rege sit quos dico]. The sec. m. emends, hi reges quos dico, so E, but in so doing disturbs the order.

§ 65. esse et religio pr. m. for esset et regio. The sec. m. and E esset et religioso.

§ 73. iumera pr. m. for Himera, sec. man. and E absurdly iumenta.

§ 76. nauris pr. m. for nautis, sec. man. and E naulis.

§ 95. alli de [in fine paginae] ligatum pr. m. for alii deligatum, l being put for i as in the previous line mollebantur for moliebantur. The sec. m. gives allidere ligatum, so E.

§ 96. ad foro pr. m. for Adsoro, being a case of faulty division, and giving evidence against itself. The sec. m. emends a foro, destroying all trace of the genuine reading.

§ 97. hydriasque grandes simili in genere.

Here H gives grandissimi in genere, i.e. faulty division and omitting -li [so R gives grandissimi hii in]. The sec. man. emends to grandissimas, so E.

This exhausts the list of Wunder's variants, from which it will appear that E is copied directly from H, and in all cases follows the second hand, as against the first, so that H gives a far purer text.

We are now in a position to ask the last and most interesting question, What is the relation of H to the Regius? The

characteristic of the Erf. MS which has always struck critics is that it agrees so closely with the Regius, though separated from it in other respects. This feature is pointed out by Jordan in the Rheinisches Museum who shews that in some places R and E agree against all other MSS. He quotes iv. 72, where they give conseruabat as against seruabat in Ld and G_3: ib. 78 liberorumque tuorum as against G_3, ib. 123 where RE by a common blunder give 'quam illi tamen ornarint' for cum, qui or quia of other MSS [edd. cum]. He also remarks that E is in some places superior to R, e.g. § 63 cogitare nihil iste aliud, where for iste the right reading and found in E, R has istum. M. Thomas is also struck by the fact that E shews 'en beaucoup de passages une ressemblance assez grande avec le Regius' [p. 4].

When one passes from E the defective copy to H the original, it is only natural to expect that the resemblances will be still more striking, and that there will be more passages in which H appears to preserve a better tradition. The closeness of the connection between H and R is best shewn by some extraordinary corruptions existing in both.

§ 48. adposuit patellam, in qua sigilla erant egregia. Here R and H both read absurdly sicilia, altered in H by the sec. hand to sigilla [so E].

§ 97. decora atque ornamenta fanorum. Here both in R and H stray capitals have survived. R reads thus: fano P, H has fanorum R, the R being obelised and disappearing in the Erf.

§ 61. ii postea quam temporibus rei publicae exclusi. Here R has a strange corruption concealing the true reading hiipsostea quam, emended wrongly by the second hand in R to hi ipsi postea quam. The corruption in H is hi ipsos te aquam which is nonsense, but is letter for letter the same reading as in R. It is emended by the second hand to hi ipsis temporibus postquam. Both in R and H an s has intruded, and in both a faulty division has taken place. There are two obvious conclusions (i) that R and H both reproduce their original honestly, (ii) that the original was a capital MS.

§ 74 is an instance already known from E.

For Segestam in suis sedibus, R reads segestam LN suls, i H segestam I. H. suus, E segestam I. H. suis. Here in the archetype there must have been two capitals which the writers of R and H found a similar difficulty in deciphering.

§ 65. Antiochus qui animo et puerili esset et regio, here RH give the corruption puerili esse et religio. The second hand in H emends esse to esset, and corrupts religio to religioso.

Other instances are

§ 1 in textili] in om. RH. § 39 a Diodoro] a om. RH. § 68 in regna aliorum] in regno RH. ib. odio atque acerbitati] acerbitate RH. § 76 aliquanto] aliquando RH. § 77 revecta] reuectu R, reuictu H. § 122 retineret] contineret RH. § 123 sustulerit] sustulit RH.

They frequently agree in punctuation as against the other MSS, e.g. § 77 videte quanta religio fuerit: apud Segestanos... RH stop after Segestanos, not after fuerit. The spelling is remarkably alike: e.g. § 74 umero RH, humero cet. MSS. Nearly all other unusual spellings of R recorded in M. Thomas' critical notes are also in H, e.g. §§ 41, 100 condempno, § 48 hostiatim, § 60 hospicium, § 97 celatas (caelatas). So with proper names, § 48 Nymphiodoro, ed. Nymphodoro, § 95 Erymanthum, ed. Erymanthium, § 96 Assyrinorum, ed. Assorinorum, ib. Depolemo, ed. Tlepolemo, § 97 Eguinos, ed. Enguinos. In both MSS -is is regularly given for the acc. plur. and in H altered by second hand to -es.

It is now obvious that the connection between R and H is of the closest conceivable character. Can we say that one is copied from the other?

That R should be copied from H is of course out of the question. R is two centuries older, and on the whole more correct. Its superiority is shewn by the test of omissions. There are three in H, which are of importance. These are § 41 non pudore sed metu ac timore so R rightly. H leaves out pudore sed, and gives the passage non timetu ac timore, the second hand obelises non ti, thus removing the evidence of the corruption.

§ 122 in tabulis picta: iis autem tabulis interiores...so R

rightly. H om. iis autem tabulis. § 96 signum quod erat notum vicinitati, bucina datur. R. In H bucina is omitted, and a blank left. The other omissions of H are minute in character. Thus it three times omits est, § 40 nominanda est, § 64 pervulgatum est, § 95 male est, and once in § 122 in Insula.

Is then H copied from R? This is a tempting solution since then R would represent the original archetype, and we should be able to trace the gradual corruption of the text step by step from R to H, and H to E. This theory however will not explain the facts. To take the tests of omissions, § 39 vociferari palam, lacrimas interdum vix tenere. Here R omits vix which is necessary to the sense and is quoted by Servius, H gives vix: so the writer cannot have had R before him. There are six other cases in which a deficiency of R can be supplied from H, they are § 68 a praetore populi Romani H and edd., R om. a, § 66 ex ejus regno so H and edd., R om. ex. So § 101 expectas H and edd., R gives spectas. So § 47 quae a suis acceperunt H and edd., R om. a, § 48 ante de istius abstinentia dixeram H and edd., R om. de, § 97 C. Verris H and edd., Verris R. In all of these R omits something necessary to the sense, or grammar.

Further, I have collected 28 cases in which H has preserved a true reading, where R has a corruption. These are § 1 quaeretis] so H, written quaeret isquo, R quaeritis. § 40 velle] so H, R uellet. § 41 numero] so H, numerum R. § 47 quoppiam] quopiam H, copiam R. § 48 ulla] so H, nulla R. § 49 festivum] so H, fertiuum R. § 54 Syracusis] so H, Syracusanis R. ib. hominum] so H, hominem R. ib. evellerat] so H, euelleret R. § 63 iste] so H, istum R. § 65 illi tum] so H, illi tam R. § 67 ornatu] so H, ortu R. ib. regibus] so H, rebus R. § 75 tum petere] so H, cum petere R. § 77 ii denique] so H, hiidemque R. ib. cum Diana] so H, eum Diana R. ib. prosecutas] so H, prosecutos R. § 79 isti] so H, iste R. ib. si etiam] so H, sed iam R. § 94 mulcati] so H, mulcato R. ib. effractisque] so H, et fractis R. ib. praetoria] so H, praetoris a R. § 95 aetate] so H, aetatem R. ib. infirmis] so H, infirmus R. § 96

fanum] so H, fanus R. § 119 quod] so H, quo R. § 122 accepisset] so H, cepisset R. § 124 indicavit se] so H, R si.

In all of these cases R is wrong, and H right. These 28 blunders and the seven omissions in R as compared with H make it out of the question that R can be the parent MS. They are however quite compatible with a third theory: sc. that H and R are both copied from a common archetype. This is indeed the explanation which appears to be called for by the facts. We have in R and H a consensus of readings right and wrong as against other MSS, we have small differences such as would result when two persons were copying the same original, and finally the most astonishing identity of corruptions. We know that in the original of H and in the original of R sicilia was given for sigilla § 48, that in § 74 in suis was written in characters which R interprets as LN suis, and H as I. H. suus, that in § 97 the two writers found what one read as fano P, and the other as fanorum R, and that in § 61 they have the strange corruption served up in two different ways: R hiipsostea quam, H hi ipsos te aquam. These cases seem to me conclusively to shew that R and H are brothers.

Against this, there is one passage to be explained, and one only: sc. the mysterious omission § 96 signum, quod erat notum uicinitati, bucina datur where for bucina H leaves a blank, whereas all other known MSS have the correct reading. I think here we have to deal with a personal equation on the part of the writer. Bucina is almost letter for letter the same as uicina—, and looks like a repetition of it when written in capitals. The scribe thought that in his archetype the word was written twice, and so left it out, and with transparent honesty also left a blank.

To sum up the results of this paper. In the first place, I hope to have shewn that E is valueless, and that in a new edition of the Verrines its place must be taken by H. Secondly that H is a far more important witness than E was ever supposed to be. That for the 10 sections from Verrine iii. H is in all probability the best existing MS. being earlier and more correct than the Lag. MS no. 42, with which E was

previously ranked. That for Verrine iv. H is entitled, for the space it covers, to divide the honours of primacy with the Regius MS, and that it gives an independent tradition of the readings found in the original archetype, from which the Regius was copied in the ninth century. Lastly that this archetype from which the melior familia of MSS comes was a capital MS, and therefore of still greater antiquity. This will help to explain how it is that the Regius in so many places contains readings held by most critics to be superior to those of the Vatican palimpsest.

It may be asked if any new readings are to be gleaned from the collation. It is not I think to be expected that many should be brought to light: since there is only one excerpt from Verrine iii., and for Verrine iv. we have the Regius, which is one of the most perfect and correct of ancient MSS. I will however indicate a few passages, where the reading of H deserves especial attention.

iii. § 8. Nihil eorum est, contra sunt omnia cum summo dedecore ac turpitudine, tum singulari stultitia atque inhumanitate oblita, so all MSS and edd.

summo
. H gives omnia cum omn dedecore where the summo is written above, possibly by the first hand. The obvious explanation of course is that he found himself repeating the word, and corrected himself in time. I think, however, that the reading omni deserves consideration. I look on it as a case of πλοκή, or traductio, which Cic. Or. 135 calls one of the 'lumina orationis' "cum continentur unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur." If so, then there is an alliteration, as in the following clause singulari stultitia, an effect dear to Cic. I would compare the following passages.

Prov. Cons. § 27 cum ipse ceteris omnibus esset omni honore antelatus; Verr. i. 15 omnes in hoc iudicio conentur omnia; Cat. i. 30 omnia quae erant cogitata contra salutem omnium; Milo § 33 cum omnibus omnia minabatur. For the use of the word with dedecus, cp. pro Cluent. quos omni dedecore infames videbant, and de Har. resp. 27 quo minus sanctissimos ludos omni flagitio pollucres, dedecore maculares.

Verr. iv. § 67

ne quis forte me in crimine obscuro versari atque adfingere aliquid suspitione hominum arbitretur,

where Thomas explains the abl. "d'après de simples soupçons." Lambinus who was a good judge of Latin says in his margin quite simply, "I should prefer the dat." The dat. was already known from the Erf. MS and it is also in H. I should wish to recall it to the text.

ib. 101. Eo-ne tu seruos ad spoliandum fanum immittere ausus es, quo liberos adire ne orandi quidem causa fas erat.

This is an altogether astonishing case of the way in which a traditional text has kept its place in spite of sense and MSS evidence. Here the only note I have been able to find upon the use of oro = worship, absolutely, is in M. Thomas who remarks: "seul passage de Cicéron où ce verbe soit pris absolument comme on l'emploiera plus tard, avec le sens *deum precari*." In Lewis and Short the usage is called ecclesiastical Latin, and the instances given are all from the Vulgate. Yet all edd. have kept to this reading. Will it be believed that E, H, and (according to the collation used by Madvig, and Jordan's critical note), R all agree in giving ornandi which thus has the consensus of good MSS in its favour, and gives the regular antithesis of seruos...liberos...spoliandi...ornandi, also purging Cic. of a piece of Vulgate Latin. The antithesis of orno and spolio is constant in Cicero: e.g. § 123, is id...ornare noluit...Verres...spoliare conatus est. Other sections from the Verrines are iii. 9 plures hic villas ornamentis fanorum quam ille fana spoliis hostium ornare. v. 127 villae...spoliis ornatae refertaeque sunt. ib. 124 Quas urbes P. Africanus etiam ornandas esse spoliis hostium arbitratus est. Merguet gives a string of instances and indeed the antitheses of spoliare...ornare, ornamentis spoliare may be illustrated ad infinitum.

The history of the vulgate is briefly as follows: orandi appears in the Aldine ed., and was reproduced by other editors. It is read by Graevius, Gruter [who used respectively the Erf. and Hitt. MSS] and Lambinus without any notice of variant: it is reproduced in the two Delphin edd., in the Clarendon Press ed. [1783]. Ornandi is given as the reading of E by Wunder

in 1827, it appears in the collation of R published by Madvig in 1828. It is not mentioned by Zumpt 1831, and since then, but for the cold hospitality of Jordan's critical note, where he attributes it to R and Lag. 29, saying nothing of E, it has been wholly neglected. MSS evidence, Latinity, and the sense alike demand its recall to the text.

I will mention two other cases, in which Mr Robinson Ellis suggests to me that the reading of H deserves to be considered.

§ 48 H R give Nymphiodorus: the edd. read Nymphodorus. I do not know whether there is elsewhere a similar variation in the spelling.

§ 122 interiores templi parietes: so MSS, edd. In H where the acc. plur. is I think always given in -is but not the nom. we have interioris templi parrietes. Mr Robinson Ellis proposes to treat interioris as a genitive, and the epithet of templi.

It will be noticed that in these remarks I have confined myself strictly to the Verrines. I devoted myself to this part of the MSS, since I was chiefly interested in them, and also the occurrence of these excerpts is the distinctive feature of the group to which it belongs. I make no assertion as to the rest of the MS. It is however I think probable that if for the Verrines it is the parent MS of Erf., and if it certainly is two centuries older, Prof. Tyrrell has taken too modest a view of the MS, on the merits of which the value of his brilliant edition largely depends. When one remembers that this MS contains a large number of works of Cicero, few of which have so secure a text as that of Verr. iv., and that it has only been carefully collated previously for the Letters, I think one is warranted in hoping that it is destined to throw considerable light upon the formation of Cicero's text. In conclusion, I have to express my gratitude to Prof. Tyrrell, but for whose Preface this paper would not have been written, and to Mr Robinson Ellis and Mr Maunde Thompson for their great kindness in reading through the results of my collation, and for their invaluable advice.

Since the above has been in the printer's hands I have collated other parts of the MS, and especially the two versions

of the speeches pro Marcello, pro Ligario, and pro rege Deiotaro. The results, to which I hope to devote another paper, are of the most interesting character. I have not however found any other case, in which the Erfurt writer has copied directly from the Harleian MS, except that in the three speeches alluded to, the superscriptions in E are all taken from the inferior version in H.

A. C. CLARK.

NOTE ON ZECHARIAH x. 11.

That this verse, as it stands in the Masoretic text, admits of no satisfactory explanation, is now generally allowed. It is needless to enumerate the various interpretations of the phrase וְעָבַר בַּיָּם צָרָה, for most critics accept the emendation of צוֹרָה instead of צָרָה—which was first suggested, I believe, by Klostermann. By this change the principal difficulty is no doubt removed, but the following clause still remains obscure. Accordingly Stade (in the Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1881, page 23, note) regards the words וְהִכָּה בַּיָּם גַּלִּים as a gloss, added by a reader who, borrowing from chap. ix. 4, wrote והכה בים חילה in the margin of this verse. The gloss was afterwards incorporated into the text and חילה became corrupted into גלים. This theory, which Stade offers with considerable reserve, is certainly possible, but the change from חילה to גלים is not easily explained. Is it not therefore conceivable that גלים may be a corruption of גבלים? If this be so, the original sense of the passage was—"And he shall pass through the sea to Tyre, and smite the Gebalites on the sea." In 1 Kings v. 32 (unless the word הגבלים be corrupt, as Thenius suspected) the Gebalites appear in close connection with the Tyrians, and again in Ezekiel xxvii. 9 the זקני גבל are mentioned among the maritime forces of Tyre. That in Zech. x. 11 the word is without the definite article, offers no difficulty; compare for example פלשתים in chap. ix. 6 and צידנים in Deut. iii. 9. In the immediate neighbourhood of the word יָם, the change from גבלים to גלים might easily take place. With regard to the objection that the retention of this clause in the text makes the verse to consist of 5, instead of 4, members, compare chap. ix. 5.

A. A. BEVAN.

MSS containing the whole :—

F = Florence, Medicean XLVIII, 1.
H = Harleian, 2719.
L = Leyden, Voss, F 73.
P = Paris 7667 (I—II, p. 140).
V = Wolfenbüttel, Gud. 96.

Of these F and L are the oldest, belonging to the latter half of the ninth century, H somewhat later, P and V probably date from the first half of the tenth century.

γ = FHLPV, or any of these not already mentioned.

Extract MSS :

A = Bamberg, N. V. 18.
C = Colbertinus, Paris 7666.
X = Leyden, Voss 116.
D = Danielinus, Paris 7665.
M = Montpelier 212.
O = Oxford, Bodleian Can. Lat. 279.

Of these A, C, D and M are tenth century, C and D being probably older than the other two, X and O eleventh century. For the first 10 pages down to 11, 2 *fartim*, where ACX give the whole, they are cited separately.

δ = ACXDMO.
$\omega = \gamma + \delta$.

As it may be some years before I am able to publish my now complete collation of the above MSS. I subjoin some of the more important readings, especially from F.

VI. 25.

"*Nam ubi domi sola sum sopor manus caluitur.*"

Here ACX alone have *sopor* rightly with the MSS of Plautus: *soror* (γ).

VII. 19.

"*Périi! flocco défloccabit íam illic homo lumbós meos.*"

This is the reading I would suggest. The MSS give *perii* ACX, *perit* (γ), *flacco habebat* F^1, *flacco habebit* (γ)ACX, *am illic* F^1, *tam illic* L^1, *tibi amillic* H^1, *iam illic* (γ)ACX. Studemund reads *fusti defloccabit* from the Ambrosian, though it would seem that the first two words of the line are illegible. L. Mueller reads *flocco habebit tibi iam iam* from H^1, where however the *tibi* simply arises from the correction in F. *Defloccabit* is proved by the lemma to have been the original reading in Nonius, and for *flocco defloccabit* we may compare, *inter alia*, 97, 8, *speculo despeculassere*. *Flocco defloccabit* would be written first *flocco abit*, and then corrected to *flocco habebit*.

IX. 16. *Mutus onomatopoea est incertae uocis, nam mu sonus est proprie qui intellectum non habet.*

mutos sonus L^1, *mutu sonus* A^1CX, *mutus sonus* (ω). Should we read *nam mutum* (*muttum?*), cf. Schol. on Pers. Sat. I. 119. *Men' muttire nefas? dicimus muttum nullum id est nullum emiseris uerbum.*

XI. 12. *Tororum et toralium designator est Varro, de uita populi Romani, libro primo: "Quod fronde lecticae struebantur, ex eo, herba torta, torum appellatum. Hoc quod inicitur etiamnunc toral dicitur, lecticam qui inuoluebant segestria appellabant.*

So L. Mueller. The MSS give, *Torialim et* H^2PVACX, *torialim et* FH^1L, *Torialim et, om.* DMO: *torialium* (γ), *toralium* ACX, *Toralium* DMO, *quo frontem lecticae* (γ)ACX, *struerant* F^1L, *struebant* (γ)ACX, *ex ea* (γ)ACX. I have previously suggested that we should read *Toralium proprietatis designator est* &c., and I still hold this to be right. It seems scarcely credible that *Tororum* should have been corrupted to *Torialim*. In the rest of the passage I would retain the MSS reading, merely altering *quod* to *quo*, which two words are constantly

confused. Varro is contrasting the *torus* or mattress, *quo frontem lecticae struebant*, with the *segestre, qui lecticam inuoluebant*. It may be noticed that Varro L. L. v. 166 gives a similar explanation, *Toral, quod ante torum, ("quod inicitur"), et Torus a toruo, quod is in promptu ("quo 'frontem' lecticae struebant")*.

The passage will then run, *Toralium proprietatis designator est Varro, de uita populi Romani, libro primo:*

"Quo frontem lecticae struebant, ex ea herba torta torum appellatum. Hoc quod inicitur etiamnunc toral dicitur; lecticam qui inuoluebant, segestria appellabant."

xv. 26.

Eúm suae uitae fínem aetatis ínternecioném fore
Méleagro, ubi ubi tórrus esset ínterfectus flámmeus.

So Mueller. The MSS give *Eum suum u. f. ac fati* in the first line, and *ubi* for *ubi ubi* in the second, *ubi om.* F¹L. In the first line I would adopt Buecheler's *ac fatis*, with Ribbeck, comparing Verg. G. I. 199, *sic omnia fatis In peius ruere*, &c. In the second line I would read *fuisset* for *esset*, supposing it to be the *oratio obliqua* of the speech of Atropos, at the birth of Meleager, *"Tam diu hic uiuet, quam diu hic titio consumptus non fuerit"*. *v.* Hyginus Althea CLXXI. The line will then run:

Méleagro ubi torrús fuisset ínterfectus flámmeus.

xvi. 13.

Lactare est inducere, uel mulcere, uel decipere.

So Mueller. The MSS give *Lactare est inducere, uel mulgere. uellere, decipere* (ω), *mulcere* H² only.

The MSS reading is surely not only defensible, but much preferable to the alteration suggested. *Mulgere* is meant to suggest an etymological connection between *lactare* and *lac*, (cf. our phrase "a good milch-cow"), while *uellere* exactly corresponds to our English phrase "to pluck."

xx. 6. *Áge modo, ista gárri; produc párticulones ántibus.*

So Mueller. The MSS give *stic* (γ), *particulones producantibus* (γ). *Sta* or *ista* seems probably right; for *producantibus* Ribbeck reads *producam tibi*, as *antibus* gives no satisfactory sense. I would rather write: A. *Áge modo, ista gárri; produc*

párticulones. B. *ém tibi.* The scene seems to be a dialogue between two rival claimants to a property. A says, "It's all very well talking that sort of nonsense, but let's see the coheirs." To this B replies *em tibi* (voilà!), and produces them.

XXV. 18. *Nonne hominem scribunt esse.* For *hominem* the MSS give *non unum,* for which I conjectured *nanum* in a recent number of the Journal. I have since noticed that Unger has suggested *nanica* for *naica* on Propertius II. 32, 40, where the *nani* in question are the *Sileni senes et pater ipse chori,* as here the *nanus* is Silenus. There is an exactly similar MS corruption 143, 13, where, for *nullius,* L has *nalius* corrected to *non alius.*

XXXVI. 8. *Coniugare, copulare.*

Coniugare is actually read in M, *coniungare* O, *coniugere* P, *coniungere* (ω).

XLIV. 10. *Qúi, malum, intellégere, quisquam pótis est? ita naugás blatis.*

Mueller reads *naugas* from the *naugias* of H^1. This is however no authority, as the reading is simply due to the *nagis* of F, (i.e. *nagis* corrected to *nugas*) *nagis* F^1L, *nugas* F^3H^2PV. *u a*

XLV. 28. *Inferum ab infimo dictum; unde inferi quibus inferius nihil; uel quod infertur; unde inferum recte potest dici quidquid desuper mittitur. Varro Marcipore:*

> *" Nubés aquales frígido ueló leues*
> *Caelí cauernas aúreas subdúxerant."*

So Mueller.

The MSS (ω) give *ab imo dictum, u. i. q. i. n. unde quod infertur* (*unde infertur* H^2V) *recte,* &c.

I had myself suggested in the Journal some years ago *Inferum* (*ab imo dictum unde inferi quibus inferius nihil*) *quod infertur, unde recte potest dici,* &c., regarding *ab imo* &c. as a marginal gloss. Prof. Mueller neglects to mention that all the MSS (γ) give *aurea subduxerant* (*subdixerant* F^1, *subduxerunt* P), not *aureas.* Buecheler reads *aureas obduxerant,* which seems preferable in every way.

XLVI. 22. *Vulpinari dictum est fraudibus et mendaciis uera peruertere, uel effugere,* (*dictum*) *ab incerto et intorto uulpium cursu.*

So Mueller. The MSS give *ab inrecto sed intorto* (ω), *inrectum* H¹, *sed intorto om.* V¹. Prof. Nettleship has suggested *ab anfractuoso et intorto* which is attractive. We might however read *a non* (*n̄*) *recto sed intorto*, keeping rather more closely to the MSS. A MS at Arras (quoted Cat. Gen. des MSS vol. IV. p. 16) gives *Vulpes, uoluo componitur cum pes, et dicitur haec uulpes, pis, quia* (*quasi?*) *uolpes uel uolupes, est enim uolubilis pedibus, et numquam rectis itineribus sed tortis anfractibus currit, utpote animal fraudulentum insidiisque decipiens.* The words *numquam rectis sed tortis* tell perhaps rather in favour of the latter suggestion.

XLVII. 3. *Exporrectum extentum, porrectum est enim tentum id est porro tractum.* So Mueller with no mention of any variety of reading. All the MSS (ω) however give *porro iactum*, for which *porro actum* should probably be read.

XLIX. 1. *Trossuli equites Romani dicti sunt, quasi torosuli.* So Mueller.

Trossoli F¹, *Trosuli* L¹C, *Trossuli* (ω),

equites Romani dicti trossuli dicti sunt torosuli H¹, *dicti sunt torosuli* (*torosoli* F¹) (ω), *om. e. R. d. t.* The reading of H¹ is due to a marginal gloss in F, *equites Romani dicti trossuli*, and has therefore no authority.

ib. 7. *tam glaber quam Socratis calua.* So Mueller, a conjecture which I am pleased to have anticipated in a recent number.

ib. 16. *Tonimus positum sonamus cum modo, a tono. Varro, Eumenidibus:*

> *"Tibi typana non inani sonitu matris deum*
> *tonimus."*

Tibinos, a tibiis, Varro, Eumenidibus:

> *"Sonitu matris deum*
> *tonimus modos tibi nos, tibi nunc semiuiri."*

So Mueller. The MSS (γ) give *T. tympana non* (*non non* V) *inanis sonitum m. d. t. tibi nos a tibiis modos V. E. sonitus m. d. tonimus tibi nos, &c.*

I would write the passage as follows:

> *"Tibi tympanon inanis sonitus, matris deum*
> *tonimus tubam tibi nos, tibi nunc semiuiri."*

The *tympanon inanis sonitus* are the hollow sounds of the timbrels, cf. Cat. 63, 10 *caua terga tauri. Tibi nos a tibiis modos* I believe to be a marginal gloss, which, being introduced into the text as a new lemma, has led to the repetition of the beginning of the passage. For *tubam* compare Cat. 63, 9 *Typanum tubam Cybelles tua, mater, initia.* The change is a very slight one, as *tubam* would easily drop out before so similar a word as *tibi.* It is perhaps worth mentioning that in the description of the rites of the *Mater Magna* both in Catullus *l. c.*, and in Lucretius II. 618, *Tympana tenta tonant*, there is a triple alliteration of the letter T.

LII. 7. *Humanitatem non solum, uti nunc consuetudine persuasum est, de beniuolentia, dexteritateque et comitate, ueteres dicendam putauerunt, quam Graeci φιλανθρωπίαν uocant.*

The MSS give *dexteritatem quoque communitatem.*

Editors generally change *communitatem* to *comitatem*, but there is surely no necessity for doing so. *Communitas* is used by Cicero to express the common feeling between man and man, and *communis* in the sense of "affable, courteous" is far from unusual.

LXV. 11. F^1 alone has *digladiatur*, rightly. *Digladietur* (γ).

LXVIII. 22. *Θαῦμα μέγ', inquit, balba.*

So Mueller. F^1 has *taunumeo, thaunoumeno* P, *thaunumeno* F^2L, *thaunomeno* F^3HV. What the true reading may be seems very uncertain.

LXIX. 20. *p*poscissem* F^1. Should we read *peposcissem?* cf. 140, 19, Gell. VI. (VII), 9, &c.

ib. 22. *pulicis* F^1.

LXXII. 25. *inobs* PV, *da asscit illae* F^3, *da as***t*illae* F^1.

Does *scit illae* represent *scitule?* cf. Apuleius Met. II. 19 *scitule subministrare.* The passage is most obscure.

ib. 32. *consiorum* V^1, *fortune* H^2VMO, *furtunae* A, *furtumae* C, *fortunae* FLPD.

Mueller reads *Acerbat* as a new lemma, and *fortitudine* from H^1, but this is simply a scribe's error in H.

LXXIV. 10. XXVIIII F^1, perhaps rightly.

LXXVIII. 8. *In quo nobilius est Philippeum quod accipimus quam quod bibimus; cum alterum addamus in bulgam, alterum in uesicam?*

I propose to write the passage with a sign of interrogation. The point seems to be this, the *philippeum quod bibimus* is as good as that *quod accipimus*. If the one goes into the *uesica* the other only goes into the *bulga*. *Bulga* (purse) seems also to have been used as a slang term for the stomach, something like our "bread-basket". Cf. 187, 17.

ib. 28. *nemes* F^1H^2LPV, F^3 superscribes *u* making *nemus*. The scribe of H^1 misreading has produced *nemens*.

LXXIX. 9. *exunt bount* (*sic*) F^1, *bouunt* V^1.

LXXXIII. 21. *Varro Sesquulixes: Alteram uiam deformasse Carneadem, uirtutis e cupis acris aceti.*

se cupis FH^1L, *e cupis* H^2P^2V, *ep cupis* P^1.

It seems pretty clear that some words have dropped out here, as the *cupis acris aceti* cannot apply to Carneades. Does *se* or *e* represent the two first letters of *Senona?* The passage may have run, *Alteram uiam deformasse Carneadem, uirtutis* [*Senona respersis*]*se cupis acris aceti*, the copyist's eye passing from the *is se* of *uirtutis Senona* to the *is se* of *respersisse*. Cf. 99, 24, *Unam uiam Senona moenisse duce uirtute; hanc esse nobilem; alteram Carneadem desabulasse bona corporis secutum*, which gives the other side of the picture.

LXXXIV. 26.

Que (*q.*) *ueat graio* F^3.

LXXXVI. 18. *Casnares, senes. Varro Sexagesi:*

"*Vix ecfatus erat, cum more maiorum ultro casnares arripiunt, de ponte in Tiberim deturbant.*"

So editors generally. Mueller reads *Casnares seniculos*. The MSS all give *Carnales* both in the lemma (ω) and the example (γ). For *senes* they have *sedules* FLPV^2, *setdules* H^2, *seddulis* (*ut uid.*) V^1, *se* (*sic*) (δ). I cannot believe *casnares* to be right. Surely the natural way of taking the passage is to make

carnales the subject of *arripiunt*, the object being the person *qui uix ecfatus erat.* Were the *Carnales* (priests of *Dea Carna?*) some of the many *sacerdotes*, who as we learn from Dion. Halicar. I. 38, took part in the ceremony of the Argei? *Sedules* I believe to be simply *edules*, one of the most inane of the many inane glosses, which have crept into the text.

LXXXVII. 18. *Cognomen est eiusdem nominis.* I have previously suggested that we should read *cognomines eiusdem nominis*, as the example shews that the plural is required. In F, the text has been corrected, apparently to *cognomines*, and then recorrected to *cognomen est.* There is a similar error p. 138, 9 where $F^3(H^1)$ alone has *maceries*, the other MSS (ω) *maceria est.* Compare too Paulus p. 40. For *letium* in the example, *letium* (γ), *laetium* (δ), should we read *bliteum* or *luteum?*

Bliteúm genus
cognátionis mórborum cognóminis.

LXXXVII. 28.

Cuia opera Troginus calix per castra cluebat.

Troganus F^1. Does not this point to an original *Troianus?* So 127, 3 all the MSS (γ) give *Troge* or *Trogae* for *Troiae.* *Troginus* would naturally arise from the superscription of *i*, as in 23, 25, a similar error has produced *magistas* in FH^1L, *maiestas* H^2PV.

LXXXVIII. 20. *probitate* F^3 alone, rightly, *probitatem* (γ).

XC. 15. *Congermanescere, coalescere, coniungi uel consociari. Quadrigarius Annalium: Facite exemplo eorum, ut uos cum illis congermanescere sciatur. Varro rerum humanarum lib.* III: *Postea cum his una rempublicam coniuncti congermanitate tenuere.*

So Quicherat. The MSS give *exempla* (γ), *coniuncti ac congermanati* F^3, *c. ac congermanita* F^1LP, *c. ac congerminata* H^2, *c. ac congermani* V.

Mueller reads *congerminascere* and *congerminati*, but surely the MSS reading is preferable in every way. He says *congermanescere non magis potest esse uerbum probae latinitatis quam congermanus, confrater, conciuis.* Why is *congermanescere* not good Latin? The word occurs in Apuleius Met. II. 10, without any MSS variety, and the fact that it is used by Apuleius

is a strong argument that it is a genuine old Latin word. If you can say *coalescere, concrescere*, &c., why not *congermanescere!* In the passage from Varro we should read *congermanati* with *codex optimus* F^3, of which the readings in the other MSS seem manifest corruptions. If *consociati* why not *congermanati?*

XCI. 8.

Stultust qúi cupita cúpiens cupientér cupit.

So Ribbeck and Quicherat, but is not *cupita cupiens* weak? Mueller reads

Stúltus est si cúi cupido cúpiens cupientér cupit.

The MSS (γ) have *Stultus est qui cupida*, &c.
I had myself written

Stúltus est [*si*] *qúi cupienda cúpiens cupientér cupit,*

or $- \smile$ *stultust qui cupienda,*

either of which seems to give a more satisfactory sense.

XCIV. 4.

Coxendices, coxas. Lucilius:
"Cáput [*ut*] *collo sústemptatur, trúncus* (*sustinetur a*) *coxendícibus."*

Cocsendices F^3 only, *Cocsendica* F^1L, *cocsendice* F^2, *coxedicas* C, *coxendicas* (ω).

collo F^3 only, *colo* F^1, *colos* (ω), *sustemtatur* F^1, *sustentatur* F^3 (s'), *temptatur* VAO, *temtatur* (ω).

ib. 9. *Salentinam* F^1.

XCVI. 13. *spongeam* F^1, *spungeam* (γ).

ib. 27. *Accius Tereo: Suauem linguae sonitum! O dulcitas cum spiritu animae.*

conspiritum FH^1L, *conspiratum* H^2PV.

Mueller gives *conspirat*, bracketing *O*.

I would read *conspiratu animae*, or *animarum*, cf. Gell. I. 11, 8 *mentium animorumque concentu conspiratuque tacito nitibundos.*

ib. 31. *tanta* F^3, supporting H^1.

ib. 33. Mueller reads *quique dulcedine* from H^1, an error

or independent emendation on the part of the scribe, F having *dulcitudine.* The MSS of Cicero vary.

XCVII. 20.

"*Patiúre quod dant, quándo optata nón danunt.*"

Mueller reads *at e re quondam est,* being misled by H^1, which has *atiere, patiere* F^3H^2LPV, *ptiere* (*sic*) F^1, *aptiere* F^3, whence the mistake in H.

Patiare seems probably right.

XCVIII. 15. *Demagis, ualde magis.*

Mueller reads *ualde,* bracketing *magis,* but no change is wanting. The explanation simply means that *De* has a strengthening force, cf. 105. 17 *Deiurare id est ualde iurare,* &c., so Paul. 71 *Deuitare ualde uitare.*

ib. 24. *eram* F^3, supporting H^1.

XCIX. 1. *Discedere hiare,* &c. *disciscere* F^2, *discere* A, *disdecere* M, *discedere* (ω). In the example F^3 has *disciuisset,* F^1H^1 *discesset, discessisset* (γ). Has there been a confusion with a lemma *Dishiscere* or *Dishïascere?*

CII. 31. [*Exsugebo et*] *exsorbebo exhauriam, Plautus Epidico* (188):

Iam ego mé conuortam in hírudinem atque eorum éxsugebo sánguinem.

Turpilius Leucadia:

"*Iam ego istam tibi*
tristitiam exsorbebo."

So Quicherat. Mueller gives *exorbebo, pro exhauriam,* and *exorbebo* in the passage from Plautus.

The MSS have *exorbebo* (γ), *exsorbero* (δ), (*exsorboero* A), *pro exsorbebo am* (*sic*) L^1, *exor*be*am* V^1, *exorbeam* (γ), *exsorbeam* (δ), (*exsorbeat* A^1).

In the Plautus passage L^1 gives *exurbebo,* the other MSS (γ) *exorbebo.* The Plautus MSS have *exsugebo,* Non. 479, 20 *exugebo.* I would write

Exsugebo et exsorbero, pro exsugam et exsorbebo:

the similarity of the words naturally leading to confusion. The line from Turpilius would run

Iam ego istam tíbi tristitiam exsórbero.

The *exurbebo* of L[1] suggests that the mistake arose from *exugebo* being written *exurgebo;* so 113, 10 *exsugere* is written *exsurgere.*

CIV. 16. *Santra nuntiis Bacchiis:*

"*Extemplo excita*
euadit qua genetrix, et omnes uocis expergit sono."

Mueller reads

Extemplo éxcita euadít quie,

but surely the order of the words is unnatural. I propose to omit *qua* regarding it as a dittography of *eua*, the three first letters of *euadit;* so *euasi*, or *euasit*, appears in MSS as *quasi*, e.g. 530, 26.

ib. 32.

Eluuio, corruptus et morbiferi aeris tractus.

So Quicherat. Mueller *morbifer.* The MSS have *morbiferis operis.* Surely the right reading must be *morbiferi operis. Opus* = "Wirkung" is excellently good Latin; cf. *inter alia*, Ov. Met. I. 468 *duo tela diuersorum operum.*

CV. 13. *Emancipatum, subnixum, deditum.* Mueller writes *submissum* for *subnixum*, unnecessarily, cf. Non. 405, 20 *subnixum, subditum*, and Serv. Aen. IV. 216, so Tert. de Pat. 4 has *seruitute subnixus.*

CVI. 5. *Varro, Lege Maenia:*

"*Qúod facit,*
pró sua parte is qúi se eunuchat áut aliquem qui líberos pérducit."

ali qui Buecheler, *alis quei* Mueller, *aliquid* A, *aliqua* FL, *aliqui* (ω).

I would read *alioqui*, the sense being "any one who *se eunuchat* in particular, or in general (*alioqui*) *liberos perducit.*"

ib. 20.

Quaprópter edulcáre conuenít uitam,
curásque acerbas senibus gubérnasse.

So Nonius, Gell. XV. 25 *sensibus.*

I would suggest *eminus*, cf. our English phrase "to steer clear of" and the proverb used by Livy XLIV. 22, 14 *e terra gubernare.*

CVIII. 7. *ebriacus* F, so Mueller is right in rejecting the *ebriatus* of H^1.

ib. 8. *Respublica amisso, exfundato pulcherrimo oppido : res pubus* PV, *res pub*** F, *res pub.* HL.

Should we read *Flore* (or *robore*) *pubis amisso*?

ib. 15. *excisatis* F^1 here, though *excissatum* in lemma.

ib. 18. *potinae* F^3 only, rightly; *nutrio* F^1, i.e. *nutric*, the *es* of *nutrices* disappearing before *Esculentum*; *nutrici* (γ), a bad correction.

CIX. 9. *qua* F^3.

CX. 3. *meae accio* F, *meaeaaio* (*sic*) H^2PV.

ib. 18 and 19. *fulgoriuit* F, the *fulgorauit* of H is an idiosyncrasy of the scribe.

ib. 20. *lib.* VII (*sic*) F^1.

ib. 21. *luprorum* P^1, *fulguritarum* (*sic*) F^3.

CXI. 35. *Fluctuatim, iactanter et solute. Afranius, Pompa:*
Tené tu in medio némo est; magnificé uolo,
fluctuátim ire ad illum. Accípite hoc; tege tu, et sústine.

Mueller and Ribbeck give *fluctatim*; I would go a step further and write *flutatim* (swimmingly); in line 37 PV^1 have *flutuatim.* So Varro Eumenides (123 B), Non. 390, 10, Buecheler reads *flutante* for the MSS *fluctuante.*

CXII. 17. *Frausus pro fraudatus* (*id est ad fraudis fructum ne uenerit*). So Mueller, the MSS have *id est qui ad f. f. nonu.* He is no doubt right in bracketing *id est—uenerit*, but the change to *ne* is not required. As *fraudatus* shews, the author of the gloss supposes the passage to mean "I'm afraid he'll be done out of doing the public," i.e. *ad fraudis fructum non uenerit.*

ib. 20. *Fax* pro *faces.* So Mueller, to illustrate the rare use of the nom. sing. So *frons pro frondes* 114, 1, *nex pro*

neces 145, 20. The MSS give *face, fronde, nece* owing to the *pro* immediately preceding. So 184, 11 F^1 only has *Viscus pro uiscera* (*uiscere* ω), and 188, 12 F^2 only *uter pro uterus* (*utero* ω). This suggestion was made by myself some years ago in the Journal.

CXIV. 12.

Foríolus em uidéris: in coléis cacas.

So Mueller. The MSS have *esse* (γ), *uideres* FHLV^1, *uideris* PV^2, *coleos* (γ); *coleos* may well stand for *coles* (*caules*) as *peliceos* for *pelices*, 6, 18, and *lemurios* for *lemuris*, 135, 16, but Quicherat and Ribbeck seem right in reading

Foríolus esse uidére; in coleós cacas

which is much closer to the MSS. For *coleos* cf. Petronius 44, 31 (B) *si coleos haberemus.*

CXVI. 8. *Protesilaodamia* F^3 alone, rightly.

ib. 33. *Amullus* (i.e. *Amulius*) F^1 only, *Ammullus* (*sic*) γ.

CXVIII. 2. *illi aeuetulae* F^1, *illi euetulae* F^3.

ib. 12.

Pomponius, Praefecto morum:
Ut síquis est
amántis animi gáudet sicui quíd boni
euénit, cuius amícus est germánitus.

Mueller reads *amantis animi*. The MSS (γ) *amicus amici*. The right reading is obviously the proverbial expression *amicus amico*, cf. Ter. Phorm. 562 *Solus est homo amico amicus*, Petronius 43, 27 (B) *fortis fuit, amicus amico*, ib. 44, 17 *sed rectus, sed certus, amicus amico*, &c.

si cui quid F^2 only, *sicut quid* (δ), *sicut qui* (γ).

CXIX. 3. *signosie* V, *et et deam* F^1.

ib. 11. *Duritia est enim ea quod.*

Mueller reads *causa* for *ea*. Varro R. R. I. 55, 1 has *durities enim eorum*, and *duritia est* here is only a corruption of *durities*; cf. *maceria est* for *maceries* 138, 9; *ea* too is probably for *eor:* (*i.e. eorum*).

ib. 15. *dentibus* F^1 only, *gentibus* (γ).

ib. 21.

Etiam hic me óptimus somnús premit,
ut prémitur glis.

ut premitur F^3 only, *opprimitur* (γ).

Mueller *etiam hic me opímus somnus óppremit*
ut glís,

unnecessarily, as no change is required.

ib. 24. *Genius generis, Laberius Imagine:*
Genius, generis nostri parens.

Genus L^1, in the lemma. Mueller reads *Genus, generis,* and
Genus (generis) nostri parens,

apparently taking *genus* to be another form of the genitive of *genus.* I had myself written *genus,* regarding it as an old form of *genitor,* like *cerus manus* for *creator bonus.*

The passage will then run:

Genus, generis parens. Laberius in Imagine:
Genus generis nostri.

It may be noticed that Gellius XVI. 7, 10 quotes Laberius as using *gubernius* (*gubernus?*) for *gubernator.*

ib. 27.

Habentia. Claudius lib. vii: Animos eorum habentia inflarat. Ab eo quod est habere.

So the MSS (ω). Mueller reads *Hauentia* and *hauere,* but surely *habentia* would be much more likely *inflare animos* than *hauentia.* Cf. Verg. G. II. 499 *inuidit habenti,* and the common *amor habendi.*

CXXI. 3.

Quod tua [tu] laudes culpes non proficis hilum.

Mueller writes *Quo tua tu laudes culpes?* but the MSS reading is surely preferable. There is an exactly similar construction, Ter. Ad. 162, *Tu quod te posterius purges...huius non faciam.*

ib. 26. *Epicurum notasse* Mueller. *non nosse* (γ), *non esse* (δ). The MSS of Cicero (De Fin. II. § 8) give *nosse* which is no

doubt right, as *nouit* and *ignorat uoluptatem* occur immediately above. In Nonius *nosse* became *nesse, non (ñ) esse, non nosse.*

CXXII. 7. For *flagris* H^2V, FH^1LP give *fragilis*, for which Mueller suggests *fragulis*, but *fragilis* is simply *fraglis*, the transposition being very common, so 438, 17 H^2V have *fraglare* for *flagrare.*

CXXIII. 21. *profecto* V only, *profectu* FHL, *pro factu* P.

ib. 23. *redit* V^1 only, *rediit* (γ).

CXXIV. 20. *Insolum, insolutum* F^1PO^1, *i. insolitudine* C^1, *i. insolitum* (ω), the real reading is most doubtful.

CXXV. 1. *differet* F^3 rightly, *differret* (γ).

CXXVI. 3. *qui sit* CDMO.

ib. 15. *ieientent* F^2, probably rightly, *ientant* A, *entent* P, *ientent* (ω).

ib. 23.

Quod égo inaudiui accípite et quid sit fácto opus decérnite.

So the MSS. Mueller reads *qui*, why it is difficult to see; cf. Ter. And. 490, *quid opus facto esset*, so Phorm. 762, &c., &c.

ib. 27. *út te di omnes ínfelicent cúm male monita mémoria. monita* (γ), *molita* (δ).

Mueller *merita*, but surely *monita* is *unice uerum.* Cf. Verg. Aen. VII. 41, *Tu uatem, tu, diua mone;* so Cicero, Non. 32, 17, connects *monumentum* with *moneo* and *memoria.*

CXXVII. 10.

móre fit moríri [semper] suám quisque uxorem út uelit.

Surely

móre fit moríri suam quisque úxorem [air] út uelit

cannot help being right.

ib. 11. *ita irascere quod nunc irasci dicitur.*

So Mueller with Quicherat. The MSS (γ) give *quid nunc irascitur?* The MSS reading may be defended, as *quid nunc irascitur?* may be intended to illustrate the impersonal passive use, cf. M. Caes. ap. Fronto 5, 23.

ib. 28. *Insánum ualde utérque deamat.*

So the MSS (γ). Mueller and Quicherat bracket *ualde*, but

Plautus regularly uses *insanum* to qualify another adverb or adjective. Cf. Mil. 24. Bacch. 761. Most. 761, 908.

CXXVIII. 23. *Iudicatum atque indictum.*

I am inclined to read *Iudicatum ad iudicium* with the marginal glosses in HPV. *Iudicium* would be corrupted as often to *indictum* and *ad* altered to *atque* to construe. Otherwise we might read with the gloss in Placidus 59, 12

Iudicatum damnatum atque iudicio addictum.

CXXIX. 11. *Infestum aliud, aliud sit infestum.*

So the MSS (ω). Perhaps the simplest correction is *Infestum, cui aliud sit infestum.* Cf. Gell. IX. 12, 4

Quis dixerit infestum esse, cui alter infestus est.

CXXX. 1. *seruulum eius praemio libertatis inductum, magno cum tumultu conuentum in populum produxit armatum:*

tumultu H^2V, *tumulto* F^3H^1, *tumaltom* P, *populo* F^1L^2, *pulo* (*ni fallor*) L^1.

Mueller reads *conueniuntium* for *conuentum.* I would rather bracket the word as a gloss on *populum.* Does the *populo* of F^1L^2 represent an original *pipulo?* cf. 152, 3 *Pipulo pro conuicio,* and Varro LL. VII. 103. In that case *tumultu* may be a gloss on *pipulo,* or it may have arisen through the *tumulto* of F^3, from a combination of the corrupt *pulo* with a dittography of *cum.* On the other hand *pulo* and *populo* may have arisen from a corruption of *tumultu* to *ultu, tum* disappearing after the preceding *cum.*

ib. 9. *iusso* F^2, *iussu* F^3H^2V, *tussu* F^1L, *tiussu* P.

CXXXI. 17. *ambro**cia* F^1.

ib. 28.

Lótiolente: flócci fiet: cúlorum cultór.

cular cultor (γ). Mueller and Ribbeck *culei* (*culi*). Quicherat seems right in reading the plural, but his rhythm is very awkward. I would suggest rather,

cúltor culorum. [*aúdio*].

cultor has been corrupted to *cular, culorum* (*culor:*) to *cultor.*

CXXXIII. 8. *prospice* P^1.

ib. 10. *meretricae e nostro* FHL^2, *meretricae n.* L^1, *meretrice e n.* PV, *meretrice n.* (δ), *metrice* A.

The simplest correction seems to be

cum meretrície
nóstro ornatu pér uias lupántur.

CXXXIV. 35. *Corniculariа:*

[*Iam*] *míhi Lauerna in fártis celebrassít manus.*

So Mueller. I would write *Ita míhi*, &c. Cf. Plaut. Aul. 445, &c.

ib. 37. XVIII F^1.

CXXXV. 9. *nihillubi* (i.e. *nihili ubi*) F.

ib. 20. *sigílla in mento inpréssa Amoris dígitulo*
uestígio demónstrant mollitúdinem.

So Mueller and Quicherat. The MSS (γ) *sulla* and *demonstrat*. *Sulla* is clearly a corruption of some word meaning "dimple", and a hypocoristic diminutive is suggested to match "*digitulo*". Should we read *striilla*, diminutive of *stria?* Ovid A. A. III. 283 uses *lacunae* of dimples, and *stria* is a synonym of *lacuna*.

CXXXVII. 3. *Accius* F^1, i.e. *Axius*. So Mueller, *e conj.*

ib. 12. *Metari, parare. Verg. Georg. lib.* II. (274)
Si pinguis agros metabere campi
densa sere.

Mueller writes *partire* for *parare*, but Servius *l. c.* glosses *metabere* by *eliges*, and *castra metati* occurs in the next example, where *partire* is inapplicable. H^1 has *densa sere id.* from F *densa sere i. d.* (i.e. *in denso*).

CXXXVIII. 2. *Quasi par in oppido festinatio:*

Quasi (γ), *Quas* (δ). Mueller reads *euasit*, which had also occurred to me; cf. 530, 26, but no change is really necessary. *Quasi par* is quite good Latin. The passage means, "There was pretty much the same confusion in the town."

ib. 18. *lib.* XXVII *lucilius* A.

ib. 28. *Mertare, mergere,* F rightly, supporting H^1.

ib. 29. *Fortássean sint quos híc non mertarét metus.*

So Quicherat. Mueller reads

Fortássean sit quod híc nos mertarét metus.

The MSS have *sit* (γ), *quod* FH¹L, *quos* H²PV, *non* (γ), *mertet* (γ).

I would retain *quos*, as being supported by the better authority, and read *sint* for *sit*. The line will then run

Fortássean sint quos híce non mertét metus,

or

– ∪ – ∪ *fórtassean sint qúos hic non mertét metus.*

CXL. 2. *Meander est...adsimili opere labyrinthi tortum* (Mueller), *a simili opere labyrinthorum ortum* (Quicherat).

The MSS have *adsimili opere* (ω), *labyrinthorum* F³ (δ), *libarinthortum* L¹, *labyrinthorum hortum* F²H²L², *l. ortum* PV, *l. hostium* F¹. We should no doubt read *adsimili opere labyrinthorum; hortum, ortum, hostium* being only dittographies of *horum.*

ib. 3. περιεχονταριαν *mihi facies meandrata et uinculata* (Quicherat), περιέχοντα χωρία (Mueller). The MSS give περιεχονταριον F, περιεχονταριαν (γ). Is the true reading περιεχοντάρια, "my little surroundings"?

ib. 13. *eadem* P, rightly.

CXLIII. 14. *neminis positum* L², *neminis itum* (ω).

ib. 25. *postquam uidit me ui deiectum domo.*

So Mueller and Quicherat, *me indeiectum* (γ). Should we read *me ire derectum* (*directum, dierectum*), "that I was going from his house to the deuce"?

CXLIV. 3. *si ueris* F¹, *dienalis* F¹.

ib. 8. *nigret, nigra fit.*

nigreafit L¹, *nigra fit* H²V, *n. facit* (ω). Should we read *nigrefit?*

ib. 14. *fontem* F²H, rightly.

ib. 19. *aliqua re perpellitur.* So Quicherat with the MSS. Mueller reads *praepeditur. Repellitur* is nearer the MSS than *praepeditur,* as *re* and *pe* are constantly confused, so 148, 5, *rependerit* F¹L, *reppenderit* V¹, *pependerit* F³HV².

CXLVI. 12. *Plocio* F³.

ib. 31. *Offendo, offensio.*

offenso, Mueller *e conj.*, and this is actually the reading of M and O. But is it likely that *offendo* would come under the head of *honeste seu noue dicta,* and be glossed by *offenso?*

CXLVIII. 1. *in gloria* F^1.

ib. 21. *paenulae* MO, *penulae* CD, *pendulae* (ω).

ib. 22. *sorum* F^1, perhaps supporting Mueller's conjecture *sonam*; *sorum* = *sonum* = *sonam*. *sonarum* = *sonam* corrected to *sorum*.

CXLIX. 14. *lib* III. F^3, confirming H^1.

ib. 15. *auri* F^3H rightly, *auro* LV, *uarro* F^1.

heronamale F^1, *heronamole* F^2H^2LV, *heron mole* F^3. The stroke through the *a* of F^3 looks like *i*, whence H^1 *hieronimole*. Something has clearly dropped out, but what it is very difficult to say.

ib. 23. *Quii miserum* F^1, *quii me miserum* F^2.

CL. 28. *Praemiatores nocturni, praedones. Naeuius...Nam in scenam uos nocturnos coepit praemiatores tollere.*

Mueller *praedatores*, but *praemiatores nocturni* means people who *praemiantur* (take toll) by night; cf. Suet. Titus 7, *praemiari solitum*, "he was in the habit of taking toll." Perhaps *uos* should be omitted? F^1 has *noctur*, and *uos* may be due to a *nos* superscribed.

ib. 30. *Populatia, ut nugalia uel puerilia.*
Et dum puerília
agimús per ludum.

uel puerilia om. L^1. *Et dum* H^1 (in F it may be *e* or *et*), *edum* (ω).

Populacia in lemma and example Quicherat, *popularia* Mueller. I am inclined to read

Puerilia ut nugalia, retaining the MSS (ω) *puerilia* in the example. *Populatia* will be a dittography of *populatim* immediately above, and *uel puerilia*, which L^1 omits, a marginal correction of the corrupt *populatia* (*al. puerilia*). The marginal glosses have *populati uastantes* (V), *uatantes* (H), which looks as if a lemma had fallen out.

ib. 35. *tonstrix* F^1, *tontrix* F^3, *impul*trix* (*impulstrix*) F^1, *impultrix* F^3, *plautrix* (γ). I am still inclined to believe that the *s* should be omitted throughout, on the evidence of the best MSS.

CLI. 3. *clifis* F^1, *glifis* F^3. *Gliris* (Mueller) cannot possibly

be right, as the word must from the context represent some portion of a pig.

ib. 19. *quae excursum* L, *qua e.* H^2VACD, *que e.* FH^1, *qui e.* MO. *qui* (*abl.*) seems probable, as it accounts best for the other readings.

et exortamenta LACM, *et exhor.* F^2HVDO, *exortamenta* F^1 (*om. et*).

CLII. 13. *nullum* F^1, perhaps rightly, as Varro is fond of double negatives.

ib. 17. *proinde* FHLV.

ib. 22. *putidam* F^3, probably rightly.

CLIII. 12. xxviiii FH^1L.

ib. 23. *iam pridem egressa aut perbiteres.*

I would write *iám pridem egressa* [*ésses*] *aut perbíteres.*

A husband to his wife "I only wish you'd taken yourself off long ago, or come to a bad end", cf. Ter. Phorm. 586....*egrediar domo.*

ib. 25. *lactantem* (*ut uid.*) F, *laetantem* HV, *letantem* L.

I would write *lactanti* or *lactantei* (followed by *m*), as less otiose than *lactentem.*

CLIV. 5. *Puellascere effeminari uel reuirescere* (Quicherat), *ut* [*puerascere*] *reuirescere* (Mueller), *uel euirescere* F^3H^1, *u. reuirdescere* F^1L^2, *u. reuiridiscere* A, *u. reuirdiscere* (ω). *Vel euirescere* is surely right; *euirescere* is the neuter of *euiro,* and the passage from Varro is meant to illustrate not the physical healthiness, but the moral unhealthiness of Baiae. *Veteres puerascunt* Mueller for *puellascunt,* a conjecture which I am pleased to have anticipated in a recent number.

ib. 18. *minta* (*ut uid.*) *medica* F^3.

CLV. 5. *istuc* F^3H^1, *tunc* (γ).

ib. 25. *Prospica et despica, intenta et contempta* (Quicherat). *et contenta* (Mueller), *intenta et contempla* (ω), *contemplare* O. I would read

Prospica et respica, intente contemplata, cf. 442, 31, *neque post respiciens neque ante prospiciens.*

CLVIII. 14.

néc minima ei prósperatur páx quod
Cassandrám [*deae*]
sígno deripuít.

So Mueller. *minimo et* the MSS (γ). Is *minimo* a corruption of *mineruae*(*minerue*)? For *pax Mineruae* cf. *Exorat pacem diuom.* Compare too *Pallasne exurere classem*, and *scit triste Minervae sidus.*

The passage will run

Néc Mineruae ei prósperatur páx quod Cassandrám [*suo*]
sígno deripuit.

suo referring to the logical, not to the grammatical subject.

CLX. 21. *triste** F.

ib. 24. *perfectum* [*et*] *absolutum* (Quicherat), *perfectum* [*prope et*] *absolutum* (Mueller), *perfectum solum tum* F^1L, *p. solutum* (ω). Read *perfectum solum* [*et absolu*]*tum*, the copyist's eye passing from *solum* to *solu.*

CLXI. 4. *Funere familiari commoto* (Quicherat), *commotei* (Mueller), *conmoto* F^1L^1, *commoto* $F^2H^2L^2V$, *commoti* H^1, because in F an accidental stroke is made through the *o*, looking something like *i*. *Conmoto* is clearly right, cf. Schol. on Stat. Theb. III. 450, *moueri sacra dicuntur cum coeperint incohare*, and Serv. Aen. IV. 301, on *commotis sacris.*

ib. 8. *Pertidere ut distidere* (Mueller). *Pertisum ut decisum* (Quicherat). *Percidere uel decidere*, $F^3H^1H^3$, *percaedere uel decedere* F^1, *percedere uel decedere* H^2LV^2, *p. uel dere* V^1.

I feel little doubt that we should read

[*Pertidere valde taedere ut*] *percidere ualde caedere.*

ib. 15. *putre* F^3, so Mueller, *e conj.*

CLXII. 3. *ex summo permitti* F^1L^2, *ex summo se permitterent* F^3, whence *se mitterent* H^1.

ib. 14. *lib. XI* F^1L^2V, *lib. I* F^3H, *lib.* L^1.

ib. 15. *animaduertere* F.

ib. 17. *inciter ocultuque* F^3.

CLXIII. 25. *saepe om.* F^3.

CLXIV. 2. *uel lecte* V^1, rightly.

CLXV. 11. *rursus* F^3L^1, *rissus* F^1, *riscus* H^2V, *risus* (*ni fallor*) L^2.

I would write the line

rúsus prosus réciprocat fluctús feram.

Mueller *fera*, but does not the line refer to the waves washing to and fro the body of the dead monster?

ib. 13. *ut Roma uitet gladiatoribus.*

I would read *inuitet*, that Rome may entertain him with her gladiatorial shows.

ib. 26. *fugitas* F^1 rightly, *personis* F^1.

CLXVI. 13. H^2 has *apθριticus*, V *aρθριtitus*, *θρι* in H^2 and *ρθρι* in V being written in Greek characters, but *ρ* is just like *p*, *θ* like *o* or *e*.

ib. 18. *iuua nunc* F^1.

CLXVII. 11. *ananeute* (*ω*), probably for *ἀνανεοῦται* a gloss on *recentatur*. So Gell. xv. 25 *quod graeci dicunt ἀνανεοῦται.*

ib. 13.

Iam iam albicascit [*Phoebus*] *et recentatur*
commune lumen hominibus.

The MSS of Gellius add *et uoluptatis.*

Is not the simplest reading

Iam iam álbicascit Phóebus, et recéntatur
commúne lumen hóminibus uolúptati.

CLXVIII. 5. *saepe enim unus puer petulans atque inpurus inquinat gregem puerorum.*

Inquinat Quicherat and Mueller, *inquit* H^2V, *inquid* FH^1L. Is not *inficit* a more suitable word and quite as near the MSS? So 71, 17 I would write *conficit* rather than *concoquit; conquit* MSS (*γ*).

ib. 11. *istilo* F^3, *noleui scapos* F^3, *n. iscapos* F^1.

ib. 22. *Suspiciosus qui* MO, *suspitiosus qui* C.

CLXIX. 5. *Verg. G. iiii.* (385): *Idem. Buc.* So Mueller, as I had long since suggested.

ib. 10. *sabulum iacere a pariete aut e xystis. Pariete* seems to give no sense. Is it a corruption of *paradromide?* cf. Vitruuius v. 11. 4.

ib. 22. *excrebrent* F^1, *excabrent* F^3.

CLXX. 6. *Iam égo illi subiens súblabrabo ésui illud sínciput.* So Quicherat with MSS, Mueller *uescus illud*, Buecheler *bene suillum*. *Suillum* should be right, but for *bene* I would substitute *ob os*, and write

Iam égo illi subiens súblabrabo ob ós suillum sínciput,

ob o would naturally disappear after the *abo* of *sublabrabo*.

ib. 10. *regnum nostrum* F^1, (*om. que*).

ib. 17. *Quod uolumen unum nos lectitauimus, et postea inuenimus septemfariam diuisum.*

unum is awkward here and *nos* seems otiose. Should we read *unose lectitauimus* to contrast with *septemfariam?*

CLXXI. 17. *duces* F^1.

ib. 19. *nesciebam* F^1.

ib. 25. *uolitantis* F. So the *uoluntatis* of H is only a scribe's error, cf. 459, 32, where C has *uoluntates* for *uolantes*.

CLXXII. 3. for *somnurnas imagines adfatur*, cf. *Acheronta adfatur*, Verg. Aen. VII. 91.

ib. 9. *termextrinorum* F^3, *ame externorum* F^1.

ib. 11. XXVIII F^3.

ib. 13. *satiatte* F^1, *satias te* F^2, *satiasti* F^3, *tenet* *** F^1, *tenet facta* F^3.

ib. 24. *Ecastor multum somniculosum.* So MSS both of Gellius and Nonius. Editors change to *mustum*, but *multum* will stand perfectly well = "Sleepy with a vengeance."

CLXXIII. 20. *sodalis c.* $F^3H^1L^1$, *sodales c.* H^2V, *sodalis socii c.* F^1, *sodales socii c.* L^2, *sodales socis c.* ACDO, *sodales sociis c.* M.

ib. 21. *sodales* FL. Is it intended to illustrate the use of *sodales* (*nom. sing.*) for *sodalis?*

CLXXIIII. 23. *Námque ut dicam té metu*
aut ségnitate addúctum dubitare haúd meum est.

So I would write the passage. *Nam* F^1, *segnitate addubitare* F^3H^1L, *s. aut dubitare* H^2V.

ib. 36. *speratum* F^1. We should probably write *sperítum non odí tuom*, as Mueller suggests. *odi* F, not *odit*.

CLXXV. 6. *umescunt* F^3.

ib. 22. *propterea* H^1 and so Mueller. *preterea* FH^2, *praeterea* L, V. The reading of H^1 has no authority, and is probably due to the fact that the word in F looks like *proterea*. The correction in H may be by the original hand.

ib. 27. *et quo* F^3, *ego* F^1.

ib. 31. *xxiiii* F^1.

CLXXVI. 9. *Coelius Annali lib. I. Primum* [*in*] *malo publico gratias singulatim nomina.* It looks very much as if something had dropped out here. I suggest *Primum in malo publico gratias* [*singulatim egerunt*], supposing the reference to be to the public thanks voted to Varro after Cannae, "because he had not despaired of the commonwealth." *Singulatim nomina* will be the end of an iambic or trochaic line, from some tragic or comic poet.

ib. 15.

> *Sed, Ó Petrulle, né meum taxés librum,*
> *ni té repungat éxodos scenátilis.*

Don't meddle with my book, for fear some postscript, after the manner of a stage finale, should proceed to make reprisals. In other words, "If you attack me," *irritabis crabrones.*

The MSS (γ) give *si* (*s** F^1) *te pepigat haec modo scenatilis.* Mueller reads *si te pepugerit hic modus scenatilis;* but is it not very weak to say, Don't meddle with my book if it has attacked you? *Exodos* would become *haecsodo* as often, and then *haec modo.*

CLXXVII. 9. *infamia* F^3 alone.

ib. 25. *Etsi hoc uilius dictu.* The MSS give *oc illius* L^1, *hoc illius* (γ), the MSS of Cicero *humilius* of which *hoc illius* here seems to be a corruption, through *homilius* a not uncommon form in MSS.

CLXXIX. 23. *cessat* F, so *cessas* H^1 has no authority.

CLXXX. 7. *tipula* CMX^1.

ib. 27. *lingua* (γ), *lingula* Quicherat and Mueller, but *lingua* will stand, cf. Schol. on Pers. Sat. I. 6.

CLXXXI. 6. *Tricinum...quasi intricatum* (Mueller). The MSS (ω) give...*quasi impeditum*, and no change is wanted. Cf. *Tricae* VIII. 10.

ib. 30. *ordine* F^3, confirming H^1.

CLXXXII. 28. *uulgare decoepit* H^1, *uulgare* $\overset{d.}{coepit}$ *(sic)* F, the *d.* standing for *dolorem*. Cf. 137. 15.

CLXXXIV. 11. *pro uiscera* F^1, so Mueller *e conj.*

ib. 13. Mueller brackets from Verg. G. down to *tractu uisceris*, unnecessarily, as the note of Servius on G. I. 139, *quidam male dicunt pro uisceratione positum*, shews that the passage was taken in this way. Servius quotes the same passage from Lucretius.

ib. 29. *deformatus* V^1.

CLXXXVI. 1. *erus* F^3H.

ib. 10. *Vinnulum sensilocum id est inlecebrum.*

Mueller supposes a lacuna and reads

*Vinnulum * * **

Vinnulum sensi locum,

id est inlecebram; but could *uinnulus* be used of a place? Cf. Fest. 377, *uinnulus dicitur molliter se gerens.*

Does *sensi locum* stand for *sensiculum?*

The passage may have run

Vinnulum.....

Vinnulum sensiculum,

id est inlecebrosum.

CLXXXVII. 4. *inbecillis* F, confirming H^1.

ib. 16. [*uir*] *uiraciam uxorem* (Mueller).

uiracius F^3HV, *uiraccium* F^1L^2, *uiraccius* L^1.

I would read *uir uiracius*, comparing *homo masculus* in a similar context, 248, 17.

CLXXXVIII. 12. *pro uterus* F^2, Mueller *e conj.*

CLXXXVIIII. 20. *undelatis* F^1, *undulatis* F^2, *eundulatis* F^3.

CXC. 31. Should this be written as a trochaic septenarius?

Hóc est magnum cénsorem esse ac nón studere aerários múltos facere,

simply altering the position of *multos* and *aerarios*.

CXCI. 28. *Acher*ns* (i.e. *Acheruns*) F^1.

CXCII. 1.

Séd quasi amnis cíta rapit se, támen in flexus fléctitur,

as I would write.

cis rapit sed (γ), *in flexu* (γ),
cita ruit sed tamen in fluxu, Mueller.

Surely *rapit* is at once much more forcible than *ruit* (cf. *rapidus amnis*), and nearer to the MSS. The *ta* of *cita* disappeared before the *ra* of *rapit*, and *ci* was corrected to *cis*. *Flexus* is a common term for the windings of a river, cf. Verg. G. III. 14, Aen. VIII. 95, &c. and for *in flexus flectitur*, cf. *flectitur in gyrum*, Ov. Met. II. 718.

ib. 13. *Aranae* F^1, so Mueller *e conj.*

ib. 31. I would write

Ii quáque incedunt ómnes aruas ópterunt.

libro II (γ), *quaquae* FH^1, *incaedunt* F^1.

The pronoun *ii* has been taken for the numeral, and *libro* introduced, as 117, 8, *ii* has produced *libro* II L^1 (δ), *idem libro* II (γ).

quaque = *quacumque*, as *quisque* = *quicumque*.

CXCIV. 4. [*genere*] *masculino*, Mueller. *Genere* is no doubt due to a correction of *nominis* in line 6 to *generis*.

ib. 10. *infoebis* F^2, confirming H^1.

CXCV. 14. *nondum enim inuenti erant cultelli*
empaesti e Bithynia.

inuecti erant, Mueller with Buecheler.

inuenerant F^1, *inuenti erant* (γ). *inuenti erant* is no doubt a correction of *inuenerant*, which can be nothing but *in usu erant*.

ib. 23. "*Capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos.*"

Capitibus (γ) with the MSS. of Gellius XIII. 21, 13. *nutantibus* (γ), *nutantes* (Gell.). Is not *capitibus* simply a gloss on the true reading *uertice*, the place of which it has usurped? Cf. Verg. Aen. II. 629, *concusso uertice nutat* (*ornus*), IX. 682, *sublimi uertice nutant* (*quercus*).

ib. 28. *Gallia* F^1 with H, *adcurati* F^3, *po*litos* F.

CXCVI. 12. *scribsisse* F^1, *scripsisse* F^3, *scribiturum* V, *scrip-*

turum * * * * *edi* F¹, which looks as if some word (*iam*?) had fallen out after *scripturum*. Perhaps

Déierat enim [sé] scripse et post nón scripturum: iám redi ín consortiónem.

ib. 24. *inmar = macer* F¹, *in marte* (γ).

ib. 30. *labát, labuntur sáxa, caementaé cadunt:*
l. lababuntur (γ).

Labant (Quicherat), *Labei* (Mueller), but *labat* is surely preferable. *Labat* gives the general picture, the rest of the line the special details. The tower (or wall?) totters, the stones give way, the rubble falls.

CXCVII. 6. *his est* (*his ẽ*) F¹, *hi sunt* F³.

CXCVIII. 35. *quale qui* F³, confirming H¹.

CXCIX. 25. Read *calcem ad candidum* for the sake of the rhythm.

F has *sibit, subit* H¹ is an arbitrary correction.

ib. 28. *Tum uisi*** (*uisus*?) F¹, *Tum ut si* F³.

ib. 30. *sic inuitata a natura anima corporeum corticem facile relinquit.*

So Quicherat and Mueller, *inuitatam* (γ), *maturam* F¹, *matura* (γ).

Is not *matura* right? Translate, "At this call the soul, now ripe for immortality, lightly shuffles off this mortal coil."

CC. 11. *sardis ueniense* F³, confirming H¹, *sardi ueni* F¹. I have previously conjectured *Sardiniense.*

ib. 19. *caldiissime* F.

ib. 20. *plenati iasolorum* F¹, *plena iasolorum* F³.

CCI. 10. *assidue* F³H² rightly, *assiduceparius* F¹.

ib. 16. *Lysippi Iuppiter isto*
transibit quadraginta cubita altu' Tarento.

So I would write the passage. *ista* (γ), *transiuit* (γ), *altu* F¹, *altus* (γ).

The sense seems to be, the colossal Jupiter of Lysippus will abandon Tarentum, and transfer itself to this edifice of yours.

CCII. 5. *sollicitudine ac molestia ducundi. iucunde* (Qui-

cherat), *discundi* (Mueller). May not *ducundi* stand, the phrase meaning "any tedious and troublesome training"?

ib. 10. *salices* F^2H^1.

CCIII. 17. *dominatum* F^2, H^1, L^1 (*ut uid.*).

CCIV. 11. *errantia* F^3, supporting H^1, which may be right.

ib. 23. *spira* F^1.

CCV. 4. *petilis* F^3, supporting H^1.

ib. 12. *cura* F^1.

ib. 31. *Dubii fauentem per fretum introcurrimus.* Quicherat suggests *furentem*, perhaps better *feruentem.*

CCVI. 19. *Portitore* F^1.

ib. 28. *eis atque* F^3.

CCVII. 31. *pisi adiace matico* F^1, *mattico* F^3.

ib. 35. *nocte* F^1.

CCVIII. 3. *Libui qui* (Mueller), *libii qui* L^1, *libyi qui* F^1H^2 L^2, *libri qui* V, *libyi om.* F^3H^1. *Libui* should surely be a dittography of *lib.* II and omitted. I would also omit *ut lignatum* as a marginal gloss, cf. 87, 3.

ib. 28. *Quintum* F^1, so Mueller *e conj.*

ib. The MSS give *murena ulla horrea, munera* H, *orrea* V. Quicherat and Mueller both read *nec ullae horreae*, which seems very weak. The passage clearly gives a list of public buildings of various kinds, which have fallen into ruins. We should surely read *Quarum iacent muri, naualia, horreae.* For the juxtaposition of *muri, naualia* cf. Cic. de Off. II. § 60, *muri, naualia, portus.*

CCIX. 2.

Intubus praeterea pedibus praetensus equinis.

Mueller reads *praetonsus*, but surely the MSS are right in giving *praetensus.* The *pedes* are the long trailing roots of the *iutubus.* Cf. Serv. G. I. 120 *radices multae et tenues* * * *, *radices intiborum hac atque illac decurrant. Equinis* is probably corrupt, though it is also read by Charisius 77, who gives *perserpsit* for *praetensus.*

ib. 4. *Pulmentaria et intubus, aut aliqua id genus herba, aliqua et* (γ), *herbae* F^3. Read surely

aliquae id genus herbae.

ib. 18. *uero* F^1.

ib. 26. *Protesilaodamia, Íneunt, inruúnt, cachinnos, iúca, dicteria míssitantis.*

So Quicherat as a trochaic octonarius. Mueller

in eum inruunt cacinnos,
ioca, dicta, missitantis.

The MSS give *protesila*o dam ini*unt* F^1, *prothcosilaodam ineunt* F^3, *protesilaodam iniunt* H^2LV.

cachinnos F^3H^1, *cacinnos* F^1H^2LV.

dicta riisitantis LV, *dictari sitantis* F^3H, *dictaria sitantis* F^1.

The reading is doubtful, but on the whole I am inclined to write the line as a Sotadean, omitting *ineunt* (*iniunt ini*unt*) as a dittography of *inruunt*. The verse will then run

Ínruunt cacínnos ioca dícta iactitántis.

Iactitantis is nearer the MSS than *missitantis*. Compare for this use Liv. 7, 2, 11.

CCX. 21. *Labium* F^3.

CCXI. 11. *nunc* F^1.

CCXII. 11. *uentri finem locum.* This surely makes no sense. I would read *uentri faciendo*, the *do* has disappeared before the following *lo*, and *facien* then been corrected to *finem*.

ib. 16. *Laum*, the reading of H^1, is rather an interesting instance of a MS corruption. F^1 has *lacinium* for *lanicium*. F^3 has inserted marks of transposition after the *la* and before the *um*; the scribe of H taking these for marks of omission has produced *laum*.

ib. 19.

Nihílne refert móllem e lanitia Áttica,
an pécore ex hirto dúrum uestitúm geras?

Nihil refert (γ), *pecore ex hircorum u.* (γ).

uestigium V, *uestium* FHL.

hirto crassum Marquardt, but *hirto durum* is nearer the MSS and makes a better contrast to *mollem*.

ib. 30. *VIII* H^2V, *VI* F^1H^1L.

CCXIII. 2. For *nostrum* Mueller suggests *notum* or *nostrum*. Why? *Senex noster* is a most common Terentian expression.

ib. 13. *acri crepitantes* F^1H^1, *acri crepantes* (γ). F^3 has simply dotted under *it*. Should we read *acricrepos* on the analogy of *perterricrepos?*

ib. 15. *fremit* F^1, *fremita* (γ), *thesiantem* $FHLV^2$, *tesiantem* V^1. It is possible to retain the MSS reading

Thyasantém fremit
cóncidi melúm.

ib. 25. *arma margarita candicantia.*

So Mueller, MSS *margariti* (γ), "*ut de neutro genere constaret,*" but surely any one would take *margarita* for abl. fem.

CCXIV. 21. *pusilini qui* F^1, *pusilli nigri qui* F^3, *pusillini qui* (γ).

CCXVI. 9.

neque ostrea illa magna capta
quiuit palatum suscitare.

Capta is clearly repeated from the previous line. What the passage seems to require is some word qualifying *palatum*, perhaps *lassatum.*

ib. 25. XXII. F^3H^1, XXVII. F^1L, XXIII. H^2V; XXII. is probably right. II. became V. as often, and XXVII. arose from correction.

CCXVII. 13. IIII. F^3.

ib. 25. *Retrimenta cibi*, Mueller *detrimenta*, why it is difficult to see. *Retrimenta*, which is used of the refuse from metal, &c., seems just the word required here.

CCXVIII. 9. *unam* F^3V^1.

CCXX. 20.

Vulcani tosta uapore
cum uirgis prosecta ferunt.

Should we read *cum ueribus* (*αὐτοῖσιν ὀβελοῖσι*)?

CCXXI. 4. *cantent* F.

ib. 18. *facta* F^3, *facto* (γ).

rictus rideat, neutri F^3 (and so no doubt H^1).

r. Rideat n. L^1, *rictus fit n.* F^1,

r. Ricta n. H^2V, *r. Rideat ricta n.* L^2. The *fit* of F^1 looks as if Quicherat were right in reading *sit*. *Rideat* may well be a corruption of *ricta*, but *fit* can hardly be due to corruption.

ib. 33. *plenum* $F^3H^1H^3$.

CCXXII. 14. *eiecerent* V^1, *eicerent* (γ). *eicerent* need not be changed, though it is possible that the *eiecerent* of V^1 points to an original *eiecere*, followed by *ne*.

CCXXIII. 33.

Tergus igitur sagus pinguis opertat.

agitur V^1, *igitur* (γ). Is *agitur* the original reading of which *igitur* is a correction? *Agitur* might well be a dittography of *sagus*.

CCXXIV. 38.

Sí ualebit plús in buccam bétet siticinís scema.

So I would write the line. The MSS give *uetet* and *sidicin*. The sense I take to be "If he gets well, he'll run to cheek like a horn-blower." Cf. *notaeque per oppida buccae*.

CCXXV. 2. *Pérgite*
thyrsígerae Bacchae, Bácchico cum scémate.

The MSS give *modo Bacchico*. I would omit *modo* as a marginal gloss on the *scema* in the previous line.

CCXXVIII. 7. *torqueos aureos* F^1.

ib. 23. *ut uideret totum*. So the MSS. I would suggest *ut ordiret togam*. *Ordio* or *ordior* is the technical word for setting up a piece of weaving, and *togam* is often corrupted to *tocam*, *totam*, &c., e.g. 448, 24 *tote* is found in all the MSS for *togae*.

ib. 25. F^3 like H^1 has *infectori* or *inpectori*, the scribe of F^3 clearly hesitating between the two letters, and H^1 has copied exactly.

ib. 28. *Tribulaque* F^1 only.

CCXXXI. 19. *stipidius* F.

ib. 27. *aetra* F^1L (*aetra* = *atra*), i.e. *aera* corrupted to *atra* and corrected, *aetera* F^2, *aethera* F^3.

CCXXXII. 4. *qui uidet aliud cur*uantem* F, *qui uidet aliud alium curantem*, or perhaps more probably the frequentative *curitantem*, should be right.

J. H. ONIONS.

NOTE ON HOMERIC SCANSION.

It has been observed that a molossus in Homer is rare before the bucolic diaeresis (Monro *Hom. Gram.* § 368). A more exact investigation shews that in the *Odyssey* this variety of rhythm is almost entirely forbidden. In La Roche's text there are only ten examples of it. Of these no less than seven are only apparent exceptions, for in six the genitive ought to be resolved, and we should read Θηβαίοο Τειρεσίαο (κ. 492, 565, λ. 90, 165, μ. 267, ψ. 323); and in ο. 84 for εὐχάλκων read ἐϋχάλκων.

Of the three real exceptions one is a proper name (ο. 248), in another the molossus is followed by a spondaic ending (φ. 15), and we shall see further on that this is probably a mitigation of the offence, and ε. 62, χρυσείῃ κερκίδ' ὕφαινεν, is the only case in which there is nothing peculiar.

In the *Iliad* as usual the question is not so simple. Here there are 31 cases of the molossus before bucolic diaeresis, and in 17 of them the molossus should be resolved. These 17 are made up as follows: one infinitive (I. 11; for κικλήσκειν read κικλήσκεμεν), nine vocatives (read Πατρόκλεες for Πατρόκλεις, Α. 337, Λ. 823, Π. 7, 49, 126, 584, 707, 754, 839), two genitives (Π. 647, Τ. 412), one accusative (Χ. 331; read Πατροκλεέ᾽ for Πατροκλῆ᾽), and finally the phrase Λυκίης εὐρείης where I doubtfully suggest Λυκίης ἐϋρείης (Ζ. 188, Π. 455, 673, 683). Now where so large a proportion as 17 out of 31 can be resolved, the conclusion is that we ought to resolve them, for such a proportion cannot be accidental; as to Πατρόκλεες

indeed it is generally recognized already that this is the true form.

The fourteen exceptions to the general rule are scattered throughout all the strata of the *Iliad;* one in the oldest part (H. 645, 716), one in I (555), one in Ω (696), the others are Δ. 342, 391, 515, E. 482, M. 316, N. 692, 713, Π. 645, Σ. 400, Υ. 245, 296.

Let us now resolve the first syllable of the molossus, getting the form ⏑⏑−− before the bucolic diaeresis. We shall here also find that a great number of words so occurring ought to be resolved, and that though such a rhythm is much commoner than the former, it is yet certainly avoided. The numbers here involved are so large that I cannot give the references as a rule.

In the *Odyssey* there are 42 cases, out of which the extraordinary proportion of 20 are genitives in *-ου*, which ought obviously therefore all to be resolved, reading e.g. *Μενελάοο κυδαλίμοιο* for *Μενελάου κ.* There is only one infinitive (*π.* 362) where read *μεταίξεμεν* for *μεταίξειν*. In *ω.* 240 we must for other reasons also read *κερτομίοισι Fέπεσσιν* instead of the present text. This leaves us 20, including *ἐϋχάλκων* for which see above. Three of them are proper names, thirteen adjectives, two nouns (*ι.* 270, *τ.* 457) and two verbs (*ι.* 510, perhaps read *κατεγήρας*, and *σ.* 35 *μετεφώνει μνηστήρεσσιν*, where La Roche reads *μετεφώνεε* !)[1].

In the *Iliad* the total is 116. Of these 46 are genitives and 20 infinitives, all to be resolved, making up together *more than half*. The others are 10 proper names, 36 adjectives, and only two participles, one noun and one verb. I include the four cases of *ἐΰρείης* mentioned above.

This extraordinarily small proportion of verbs and nouns in both poems is obviously not accidental, and we can only suppose, curious as it seems, that more objection was felt to their occurrence in this rhythm than to the occurrence of adjectives. I cannot remember any similar phenomenon in any other kind of poetry known to me; the termination of the

[1] I have included Λ. 284 among the instances of this rhythm, but there is very good MS authority there for reading *Μανηΐῳ ἰφι Fάνασσεν* instead of *Μανείῳ*, and *ἰφι* does not always keep the digamma.

Latin pentameter alone makes any approximation to it, and there the facts are just the other way about, and besides we can see good reason for them.

But though no other sort of poetry has any parallel, we shall find one when we come to the still more difficult and subtle question of the spondee in the fourth foot in Homer, a question which I hope to investigate in a later paper.

Moreover the one noun in the *Iliad* occurs in a passage generally admitted to be a late interpolation (X. 495), one of the two participles is in the very late K. 68 (the other being X. 415) and the verb is rather a doubtful exception to the rule, as the last syllable is elided (*καταλήθοντ' εἰν 'Αϝιδαο*, X. 389).

Spondaic endings. Of the 50 cases of this rhythm in the *Iliad*, 5, and of the 20 in the *Odyssey*, 4, occur in lines with spondaic ending (e.g. *σ.* 35, *μετεφώνει μνηστήρεσσιν*). The proportions accordingly are ten and twenty per cent. respectively. Now the proportions of spondaic endings in the *whole* of A and Ω are only four and a half and four per cent. respectively[1], and we may say therefore that five per cent. is the outside to be expected in Homer. It follows that the rhythm we have been considering is less objected to if the ending be spondaic than if it be not so, and surely this must apply also to the former case where it is a molossus that precedes the bucolic diaeresis, so that *φ.* 15, as I said before, is not altogether without excuse. But it is to be observed that none of the 14 exceptions in the *Iliad* have a spondaic ending after the molossus; and altogether the *Odyssey* seems to be stricter with respect to such cases.

Another way of looking at the facts brings out the value of the spondaic ending in such cases far more strongly. We have seen that nouns and verbs are parts of speech avoided in this place and that altogether there are four of them in the *Odyssey*. Here are the four:

ι. 270. *Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε.*
ι. 510. *καὶ μαντευόμενος κατεγήρα Κυκλώπεσσιν.*
σ. 35. *Ϝηδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας μετεφώνει μνηστήρεσσιν.*
τ. 457. *δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινόν.*

[1] It is scarcely necessary to say that I do *not* count such terminations as Πηλεΐωνα, *Αργειϕόντης, ὄφρ' ἐὺ Ϝειδῶ*, etc., as spondaic.

This proof however is somewhat weakened if we read *κατεγήρατε* in *ι.* 510. And as this leaves only one spondaic ending for all the 20 adjectives and proper names it looks as if the spondaic ending was not much sought for after *them.*

The following tangible results follow from these observations:

First: seventy-four additional places have been pointed out in which we ought to read the resolved form of the genitive in *-ου.* A list of them may possibly be useful; they are B. 518, 705, 706, Δ. 100, 177, 228, 479, E. 25, 235, 335, 534, 565, H. 12, 392, Λ. 756, M. 373, N. 171, 400, 591, 601, 606, 663, Ξ. 200, 301, 454, 490, O. 331, Π. 286, 571, 647, P. 69, 214, 303, 306, 602, 653, Σ. 226, 335, T. 75, 412, Υ. 498, Φ. 154, 592, Ψ. 529, 540, 596, 597, 666, *γ.* 189, 279, 364, 423, *δ.* 2, 16, 23, 46, 217, *ε.* 33, *η.* 264, *θ.* 114, *κ.* 492, 565, λ. 90, 165, 325, *μ.* 267, *ο.* 2, 5, 141, 425, *π.* 396, *τ.* 180, *φ.* 296, *ψ.* 323.

Secondly: twenty-two places in which the infinitive must be resolved, to wit: B. 121, 452, Γ. 67, 435, E. 802, H. 3, 42, 169, I. 11, 241, Λ. 12, 717, N. 74, Ξ. 152, Π. 834, Σ. 258, T. 149, 206, 228, Φ. 572, X. 200, *π.* 362.

This is of some importance, as it shews how easily the infinitive in *-εμεν* was contracted into *-ειν,* and affords some justification to those editors who always resolve the infinitive where possible.

Thirdly we may see that Bentley and those who have herein followed him are almost certainly wrong in changing *Αἰτώλιον* to *Αἰτωλόν* in E. 706. And in general this may serve as yet another warning of the perils that do environ the man who meddles rashly with the text of Homer. I think E. 25 is a good case of the accuracy of our MSS; we can see now that *μεγαθύμοο* is the right reading there and so the MSS have *μεγαθύμου,* but would you not have expected it to be corrupted into *μεγάθυμος Τυδέος υἱός*? It is much more natural *prima facie* to apply the epithet to the hero himself than to his father.

Fourthly, my conclusions give additional support to the reading *ἀγελείη* in *γ.* 378 against the variant *κυδίστη.* Cf. Δ. 515 however, where there is no variant from *κυδίστη.*

Fifthly this shews again, if more proof were wanted, how absurd it is for anyone to trust his ear in matters of classical scansion. I say boldly that there is not a single English scholar, nor ever was, who would deny *a priori* that the rhythm of

δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν

was at least as good as the rhythm of

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέϝειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.

Yet we see that the latter is most decidedly regarded by Homer as the better of the two! But the latter is also the rhythm rejected by the poet whose name some spell Vergil; it is true that for this we can see an obvious reason[1]. And it may be observed that the same reason leads the Alexandrine poets to be chary of using a dactyl and spondee at all before the bucolic diaeresis, though Homer has no objection to such a usage if there be a weak caesura in the third foot.

The Hesiodic poems completely bear out these results. Of the molossus there are three examples: *Works* 397, read Ϝεργάζεο, 443, ἰθεῖαν αὔλακ' ἐλαύνοι, which can hardly be said to scan: query ἰθεῖαν ἂν αὔλακ', and *Shield* 278, συρίγγων ἴεσαν αὐδήν. Of the other rhythm eight: *Works* 308, 811, *Shield* 178, 169, 197, *Theog.* 287, 340, 912. The first three have spondaic endings, the fourth is a participle, the seventh looks doubtful, being Ἀχελωΐόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην and perhaps the τ' ought to be omitted, for though that is a harsh expedient I cannot bring myself to believe in the crases which modern editors find in Epic poetry, the eighth is πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθον and perhaps should be πολυφόρβοο, for such a word has no right to a feminine termination, and everybody knows that

[1] There are eight instances in the *Aeneid*: vii. 447, viii. 453, 549, ix. 774, x. 24, xi. 137, 382, xii. 578. In six of these a short monosyllable precedes the bacchius, so that the break in the line is the strong caesura in the third foot, and this quite alters the character of the verse. The other two, viii. 453, 549, aim at a special effect in which they succeed most beautifully:

In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe massam.

and: Fertur aqua, segnisque secundo defluit amni.

It is interesting to note that even the modified form is only found in the later books, being one of the marks of the greater freedom which distinguishes Virgil's latest style, as it does that of Sophocles, Shakespeare and Milton.

many errors have arisen from ignorance of the law that hiatus is permitted before the bucolic diaeresis. So in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, 187, we find *γαίης πολυφόρβου καρπον ἔδοντες*, where read *πολυφόρβοο* and where the word has no feminine termination. I will notice only two other passages in the Hymns. In that to the Delian Apollo, 56, read *Ϝεκαέργοο*, and in that to Hermes, 105, read *ἐπεφόρβεε*.

ARTHUR PLATT.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ILIAD.

A. 18. *ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.*

It is commonly objected to this line that the synizesis of *θεοὶ* in the oldest part of Homer is impossible. Bentley accordingly conjectures *ὔμμι θεοὶ μὲν δοῖεν*. But this reading puts the *μὲν* quite in the wrong place; if *μὲν* is to qualify the whole clause it ought to be the second word in it, and it does not make any sense to make it qualify *θεοί*. If the line is to be altered at all it would be better to read: *ὑμῖν μέν τοι δοῖεν*, for it would not be un-Homeric to use *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες* by itself for the gods, and this reading is such as might give rise to corruption and our text. I believe that it is a safe rule in Homeric criticism that the order of words is not to be meddled with except under pressing necessity, that the freer uncontracted forms of Homeric words have been everywhere cut down without remorse but that the words themselves have been preserved with most extraordinary fidelity. You can hardly read half a dozen lines of Homer without coming across forms of words which ought to be restored to an older form, but you may read all Homer through and scarcely come across a dozen lines where any plausible emendation has been made which alters the order of the words or the words themselves[1].

Now there is another place in Homer where the short form of *θεοῖσι* occurs, *ξ*. 251. It is true that the *Odyssey* has many more short and contracted forms of words than the oldest part of the *Iliad*. But if *θεοῖσι* is contracted once and once only in

[1] Cf. however on the other side Meurad *de Contractionis Usu Homerico*, p. 168. But most of his instances are puerile, and simply shew the weakness of his case.

the former, why not also once in the latter? And ξ. 251 is a line which defies emendation; the only way to get rid of it would be the rough method of downright expulsion. And why should there be any difficulty about it? Will the opponents of all contraction and synizesis in Homer consider this simple fact? Homer uses three forms of the same infinitive, *τευχέμεναι, τεύχεμεν* and *τεύχειν*. He uses three forms of the same genitive, *Φοίβοιο, Φοίβοο* and *Φοίβου*. In the oldest parts therefore he uses the uncontracted forms and two stages of contraction, uses them perpetually and without the least hesitation, and no one will dare endeavour to remove them or to explain them away. And it would be easy for the merest beginner in Homeric science to add more cases of the same kind. Perhaps it would be as well to talk less about contracted forms and short forms of the dative plural and so forth, until some one shall have "corrected" the "un-Homeric contractions" of *ἄγειν* and *τοῦ* in A. 338, 340. And if *θύρεον* in *ι.* 340 can be scanned as an iambus, why not *θεός* as a monosyllable?

The case of the digamma is in point. Can any man deliberately assert that the digamma was universally observed in the *Odyssey*? If so he must also assert that our text of the *Odyssey* is festering with inconceivable, unreasonable and ridiculous corruptions. And how much older than the *Odyssey* is the oldest part of the *Iliad*? Mr Monro thinks perhaps a century; for myself, I should think probably a good deal less. But suppose it was a century; is it likely that the loss of the digamma began in that interval and went so far as it has gone in the *Odyssey*? The Homeric Greeks were not like the natives of Central America who changed their language every twenty years. And in most points the language of the older *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is almost identical. Yet one sees editors of the *Iliad* expelling with their fork, not always a very delicate one, all cases of lost digamma in the older part of the *Iliad*, nay in later additions to the *Iliad*, passages perhaps later than the *Odyssey*!

B. 22. *τῷ μιν ἐϝεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος.*

Here Mr Leaf reads *οὖλος* for *θεῖος* on very scanty authority,

because Nauck asserts that θεῖος is always trisyllabic. But in the *Odyssey* it is not always trisyllabic, e.g. θ. 87, unless we are to be perpetually changing θεῖος to θέσπις. In the older *Iliad* however it seems to be trisyllabic; hence our view of this line depends on the view we take of the whole passage in which it occurs. Now Mr Leaf thinks that B. 1—41 belong to the original *Menis*, and that Λ immediately succeeded them. But if this were so would there not be an allusion to the dream in Λ? Otherwise the dream is introduced and despatched without leading up to anything, not in the style of the *Menis* which is remarkable for the clear development of its themes. The dreadful confusion in which B now stands is the only argument in favour of detaching these opening lines from it, and that seems quite insufficient. And this very occurrence of θεῖος as a dissyllable, for it is the only reading possessing any authority worth mentioning, may be regarded as another slight evidence that the first 41 lines also of B are comparatively late. I conclude therefore that we certainly ought to retain the reading θεῖος in this passage.

Γ. 347. ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐίσην.

So this phrase has been always printed here and elsewhere, without remark. Yet here ACD, the three best MSS of Homer in existence, and Eustathius, all with one consent read πάντοσε ἴσην, and in every other place where the phrase occurs there is some authority, and that generally the best authority, for this reading. Does not this shew that πάντοσε ἴσην was the recognized reading of the Alexandrine vulgate? And there is no trace or hint that Aristarchus read anything else.

But it is said that on such a question as this the MSS count for nothing, as παντοσεισην might be divided either way. If the weight of MSS authority were for πάντοσ' ἐίσην and it were only supposed by us that πάντοσε ἴσην was the right reading, I should agree with this, for the corruption would be an easy and obvious one. But the case is precisely the reverse. Why should the best MSS deliberately alter an easy and obvious reading into one which would appear to the transcribers difficult and odd, in their ignorance of the digamma? And it is not as if the

word ἐΐσος can have been unknown to them for they must have been familiar with this form of ἶσος from many other passages in Homer. There is only one reasonable conclusion to be drawn and that is that the weight of authority and tradition for πάντοσε ἴσην was overwhelming. We ought therefore to read in this phrase always πάντοσε Fίσην and not πάντοσ' ἐFίσην, and this indeed has been done by Fick, apparently from conjecture.

E. 181. Τυδεΐδῃ μιν ἐγώ γε δαίφρονι πάντα FεFίσκω
183. σάφα δ' οὐ Foῖδ', εἰ θεός ἐστιν.

Aristarchus here read μιν and μέν, "διχῶς." It is clear that μέν gives an excellent antithesis to δέ in 183, and that there was good authority for it, though there is very little indeed in *our* MSS, i.e. it was not the Alexandrine vulgate. But it is also clear that an accusative must of necessity be provided for FεFίσκω. Read Τυδεΐδῃ μὲν ἐγώ 'Fε and the whole thing is plain; 'Fε was very naturally altered to γε and then μὲν was bound to become μιν.

E. 403. σχέτλιος, ὀβριμοFεργός, ὃς οὐκ ὄθετ' αἴσυλα ῥέζων.

The variant αἰσυλοFεργός, the reading of Aristarchus, has not received as much attention as it deserves. It may or may not be to our taste to explain a word etymologically in the manner that results from this reading, but it was not disagreeable to Homer. Compare I. 124: πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο. Taste for taste, I prefer the version of Aristarchus, and it seems unkind to desert him just when he offers us anything a little difficult. So I would certainly cling to μηστωρε in E. 272, Θ. 108, where the MSS too are with him. Either his authority is high or it is not; either we ought never to attend to him at all or else we ought to attend to him everywhere, unless there is a better reason than here forthcoming for neglecting him.

Z. 285. φαίην κε φρέν' ἀτέρπου οἰζύος ἐκλελαθέσθαι.

ἄτερ που Aristarchus, κεν φίλον ἦτορ Zenodotus. Of these ἀτέρπου is a false form, ἄτερ που nonsense, and the third

a palpable conjecture making no approach to a critical emendation. Read *φρέν' ἀτερπέ' ὀϊζύος*, a slight alteration which satisfies the sense. It may be thought that there was no reason for this being corrupted, but I think I can shew that corruption was at least possible. In *ρ*. 196, *ἀρισφαλέ' ἔμμεναι οὐδον*, Hesychius quotes *ἀρισφαλές*, further corrupted by Joannes Alexandrinus into *ἄρ' ἐσφαλές*! and it also appears from La Roche's note that there was an ancient conjecture *ἀρισφαλές ἔμμεναι οὐδας*. So that this line was not far from being corrupted just in the way I suppose Z. 285 to have been. In *φ*. 205 for *νημερτέ' ἀνέγνω* L reads *νημερτέα ἔγνω* and C *νημερτὲς ἀνέγνω*. And in *ω*. 33, *ἤρα' ὀπίσσω*, L reads *ἤρατ'* and P *ἤραθ'*. Probably other examples could be adduced.

H. 436, 7. *ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν*
πύργους ὑψηλούς, εἶλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.

So by far the best MS authority. Why do modern editors insert *θ'* after *πύργους*? Presumably on the ground that *πύργους* are not the same as *τεῖχος*. But that they *are* the same is proved by the very next line:

ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀραρυίας.

In what did they make the gates except in the wall? But *αὐτοῖσι* = *πύργοις* and therefore *πύργοις* = *τεῖχος*. So that the insertion of *θ'* is not only bad from the point of view of the MSS but also from that of common sense.

Besides the lines are simply repeated from 337, 8:

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δείμομεν ὦκα
πύργους ὑψηλοὺς κ.τ.λ.

(where again *πύργους* obviously = *τεῖχος*) and as Homer never in such cases makes more than the absolutely necessary alterations, this is another argument against deserting the best MSS.

H. 453. *ἥρῳ* or *ἥρωι Λαομέδοντι.*

Rather *ἥροϊ*, and so also in *θ*. 483. It must be remembered that in the oldest copies of Homer O would represent both O and Ω. In *ζ*. 303 again read *ἥροος*. The short form seems the more natural on the analogy of *αἰδώς*, *ἠώς* etc., though there

are scarcely any traces of it left. *ἥρωα* as a dactyl in the appendix to the Anthology, no. 376, is probably only an imitation of the false Homeric reading.

Θ. 94, 95. *πῇ φεύγεις μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν κακὸς ὡς ἐν ὁμίλῳ;*
μή τίς τοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ.

I agree with Mr Leaf in thinking that *μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν* means "casting thy shield behind thy back." If so, is it not strange to add a recommendation to take care not to be hit in the back? That is cared for already by the shield. Put the mark of interrogation therefore at the end of the second line, and a comma after *ὁμίλῳ*. "Casting thy shield behind thy back *for fear lest* any one should hit thee there with a spear."

The phrase does not occur again as far as I know till Nonnus (xxii. 299) who absurdly uses it of a man turning to face his enemy.

Θ. 97. *ὣς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἐσάκουσε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

It has been much debated whether *ἐσάκουσε* means *heard* or *hearkened to*, the latter making Odysseus a coward. I wonder that this passage from Thucydides (IV. 34 *ad fin.*) has not been adduced: *ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὑτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἐσακούοντες*. It is clear from this that *ἐσακούειν* was the correct term for catching a word in the tumult of battle, and that such is the meaning in our passage.

Θ. 349. *Γοργόος ὄμματ' ἔχων ἠδὲ βροτολοιγοῦ Ἄρηος.*

ἠδὲ MSS and Aristarchus, *ἠὲ* Zenodotus. Can there be any doubt that *ἠὲ* is a conjecture of Zenodotus? And if so it is absolutely without authority. When one considers that *ἠδὲ* is merely *ἤ* with *δὲ* added to it, corresponding to *ἠμέν*, it seems natural that *ἠδὲ* should have been used as a disjunctive, and I rather suspect that this line has preserved one example of such a usage from among many lost, than that *ἠδέ* is here corrupt. We might even write *ἦ δὲ*.

I. 310. *ἦ περ δὴ κρανέω τε καὶ ὡς τετελεσμένον ἔσται.*

So the best MSS, but the reading commonly adopted is that of Aristarchus, *φρονέω* for *κρανέω*. If *φρονέω* was the original

how was it changed to *κρανέω*? whereas *κρανέω* would easily be changed to *φρονέω*. There must have been a very strong tendency to reduce nearly similar lines to the same pattern, and we ought jealously to guard any variants on the ordinary pattern which are anywhere preserved on good authority. Compare for a good instance Z. 4, where Mr Leaf has excellently restored a strange reading for one copied from the usual model. So probably *χραῖσμ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα* is a familiar phrase superseding the ancient and strange *χραῖσμεν θανάτοιο πέλωρα*, in E. 53.

I. 538. *ἡ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα.*

As there appears to be some chance of Duentzer's *θέϊον* for *δῖον* being accepted, it is worth while to point out that not only is there no assignable reason for the supposed corruption, and no vestige of authority for the change, but also that *δῖον γένος* occurs again in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 299, and in the *Hymns*, xxxiv. 2. In the former passage it is applied to that ne'er-do-weel, the poet's brother, in the latter to Bacchus. Though this does not give much light on the meaning, it proves that either Hesiod and the author of the Hymn copied this passage (and it is observable that *δῖον γένος* is in the same position in the line in all three instances) and if so that the reading is exceedingly ancient, or, if they copied some other passage now lost, or used the phrase independently, that it was a common phrase and therefore cannot be objected to here, whatever it may mean. As we do not very exactly know what *δῖον* meant, it seems absurd to protest against its supposed want of meaning here, and as it is applied to Bacchus it may surely very well be applied to Artemis also.

K. 373. *δεξιτερὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ὦμον ἐϋξοῦ δουρὸς ἀκωκή.*

The variant *ἐυξόου* must of course be disregarded. The objection to *ἐϋξοῦ* rests on the assumption that it is a contracted genitive for *ἐϋξόου* or from *ἐϋξός* like *δορυξός* (Leeuwen and Costa). But there would be a form *ἐϋξόοο* and might not *'ϋξόο* be a corruption of this? Hence naturally *ἐϋξοῦ*, so that we may choose between the two. Considering the scansion of

ὄγδοον as a dissyllable in η. 261, ξ. 287, the correption of ἐνξόοο seems quite probable.

Λ. 110—112. *σπερχόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῖιν ἐσύλα τεύχεα καλὰ*
γιγνώσκων· καὶ γάρ σφε πάρος παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν
εἶδεν, ὅτ' ἐξ Ἴδης ἄγαγεν πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.

Can εἶδεν for ἔϝιδεν stand in what is considered part of the original *Menis*? Or can ἔϝϝιδ' ὅτ' be considered satisfactory? Rather lines 111, 112 are interpolated, for they are exceedingly superfluous and un-Homeric. Homer never troubles to explain how opposing heroes know one another.

Λ. 678. *πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀγέλας, τόσα πώεα οἰῶν.*

πώεα μήλων L, but criticism cannot accept this as the true reading. Will it be thought too bold to suggest πώε' οἰῶν? For the quantity compare the double scansion of οἴω, *I think*, the middle syllable of which is long *at end of line* but short elsewhere as a rule (Liddell and Scott). If I am right, the corruption is easily accounted for by the unusual quantity and by comparison of the readings of φ. 205 given above on Ζ. 285.

ARTHUR PLATT.

PLATO AND GEOLOGY.

Sir Charles Lyell, in his history of the progress of geology[1], has entirely omitted the name of Plato as an original geologist[2], and I am not aware that this omission has ever been corrected. Yet it is in reality a serious one. It is indeed from the scientific point of view that Plato has been most unfairly treated, though, unscientific and even anti-scientific as is his method, few if any mere speculators have made more brilliant guesses at truth in science. Of this I think the subject of this paper is a very good example.

There is not much to do beyond comparing some passages from Plato himself and the geologists. And first we will take Plato. In the *Critias* (110 E), speaking of an imaginary condition of Attica nine thousand years back, he says that the country was then able to support far more numerous inhabitants than in his own day and was every way richer and more fertile. "This may be proved," he goes on, "from the remnant of the land now left which yields to none in richness and fertility. But what do I mean by speaking of the 'remnant'? The whole of Attica stretches out into the sea like a promontory and the sea is deep all round it close to the coast. In consequence, though many great deluges have taken place in the nine thousand years, the earth washed away from the heights does not, as elsewhere, form a deposit on the shore to

[1] *Principles of Geology*, chap. ii.

[2] His only mention of Plato is as follows: "We learn particularly from the Timaeus of Plato that the Egyptians believed," etc. And a little further on he speaks of the fable of Atlantis, "in the account given to Solon by the Egyptian priests." So that Plato does not get the credit even of his fancies about Atlantis, which are to some extent geological.

any appreciable extent but is carried away and lost in the deep water. Thus a mere skeleton of the land is left, just as in small islands, all the rich and soft soil having been carried away by water. But in those days the present mountains were high rounded hills and were clothed with forests." Why "high rounded hills"? Because he supposes that what are now crags were covered by soft material which produced gently rounded outlines. (The removal of this material would proceed with much greater rapidity after the forests were gone, but I do not think that Plato intends to convey this idea.) I take it that the word γήλοφος implies a "rounded hill" as contrasted with ὄρος. Attica in fact was in those days not a broken craggy country but a rolling champaign, the metamorphic rocks, which he calls the skeleton, being hidden underneath.

Again he says (111 E): "The condition of the Acropolis was then quite different. For now the rock is left bare since the earth was washed away from it by an extraordinary rainfall in a single night[1], preceded by earthquakes and a third deluge before that of Deucalion. But in old days it extended to the Eridanus[2] and the Ilissus...and was all covered with soil and level on the top with few exceptions." This is a particular example of what he conceives to have been the general condition of the whole country.

To put this into the language of modern geology we should say: "The whole of Attica has suffered great denudation, withstood by the underlying hard rocks, which now accordingly stand out like the skeleton of the country."

Now this statement of denudation by Plato is, I believe, the first ever made, certainly the first upon so grand a scale. It is true that Herodotus[3], when he speaks of the formation of the Delta in Egypt, implies denudation of those districts which furnish the alluvium, for "denudation is the inseparable accompaniment of the production of all new strata of mechanical

[1] Cf. *Timaeus*, 25, C, D, where this supposed denudation of the Acropolis takes place "in one day and night" at the same time as the violent submergence of the whole enormous island of Atlantis.

[2] Not of course the Po but a little-known river of Attica.

[3] ii. 10 et seqq.

origin[1]." But Herodotus does not call attention to this necessary denudation and does not seem to have appreciated its consequences, his mind being fixed solely on the formation of the new deposit. Plato therefore must have the credit of the first distinct enunciation of a most important geological doctrine.

The next question is: Is this doctrine, however true in general, true of Attica in particular? Most certainly it is.

"The whole fauna," says Lyell, speaking of the remains of Miocene age discovered by Gaudry in Attica, "attests the former extension of a vast expanse of grassy plains where we have now the broken and mountainous country of Greece; plains, which were probably united with Asia Minor, spreading over the area where the deep Egean Sea and its numerous islands are now situated[2]." This however goes a great deal further than even Plato's imagination and is too general, not shewing that Plato had any good grounds to go upon with respect to the country before his eyes. The only work I can find on the geology of Attica is that of Gaudry himself: *Animaux Fossiles et Géologie de l'Attique*, 1862, two volumes got up in accordance with the magnificent tradition of French scientific works. From this we learn that Attica is composed principally of metamorphic rocks (marbles, mica-schist, etc.) of the secondary period, with comparatively insignificant deposits of tertiary and recent origin overlying them in places. "On peut même dire que, si cette contrée a un cachet particulier, elle le doit principalement au métamorphisme; car ses calcaires, en se changeant en marbres, ont constitué un sol stérile pour l'agriculture, mais riche pour les beaux-arts, auxquels ils ont fourni d'admirables matériels[3]."

Plato evidently noticed that the tertiary and recent deposits must have been at one time of greater extent and probably continuous over the whole area, for he noticed that the waste was for ever going on at any rate in every rainy season. So he inferred that there must have been a rich soil over a larger tract of country which would in consequence have been able

[1] *Elements, ubi sup.*

[2] *Elements*, chap. xiv.

[3] Gaudry, *op. cit.* pp. 379, 380.

to support more numerous inhabitants. But denudation had removed this, exposing the metamorphic rocks which soon assumed a rough and craggy outline and formed a district ill-suited for agriculture (λεπτόγεως, Thucyd. I. 2).

The best example of this in Gaudry's sections appears to me to be afforded by Mount Hymettus (Plate LXVI). Here we have a conical mass of "marbre gris-bleuâtre ou blanchâtre," 1720 mètres high. On either flank (the section is E. 10° N. by W. 10° S.) is an almost vertically inclined stratum of mica-schist, and next to each stratum of mica-schist comes another similarly inclined of marble. This means of course that when the strata were originally deposited as aqueous formations they lay more or less horizontally over one another, the great mass of Hymettus being lowest and what is now mica-schist between the two of what are now marble[1]. The lowest stratum being then pushed up and metamorphosed broke through the overlying strata, thrusting them up on each side into an almost vertical position[2]. But when this happened the mica-schist and the marble over it would lie up the sides of the mass pushed up from below so as to reach some way towards its summit, whereas now the marble of Hymettus rises to a great height above the other formations. It follows that the overlying formation of mica-schist and originally upper marble has gone, and this can only be due to sub-aerial and aqueous degradation. This removal of the metamorphic rocks would have to be preceded by the removal in a similar manner of those "grassy plains" of the Miocene period spoken of by Lyell. Plato, without any geological knowledge, perceived something like this to be the case, though he confined his speculations to the disappearance of an earthy formation and did not see that much rocky matter was gone too. That he should have perceived something of the kind to have taken place and that on so magnificent a scale as he describes is surely a great glory to

[1] Cf. Gaudry, p. 385.

[2] Cf. Gaudry, p. 383, "Les terrains metamorphiques ont subi de soulèvements énergiques; ils forment plusieurs petites montagnes...Les couches sont habituellement très-relevées, et elles atteignent quelquefois la verticale; on ne saurait s'en étonner, lorsqu'on voit combien les chaînes sont hautes comparativement à leur petitesse."

him. And it is no wonder that his wildest imaginations fell far short of the truth, for it is a mere truism that the wonders of nature infinitely surpass all that our imagination can invent.

The Acropolis, of which Plato especially speaks, is also a hill of "marbre gris-bleuâtre," according to Gaudry, with metamorphic schists on either side (Plate LXVI. section 1, S. 20° W. by N. 20° E.) and the same doubtless holds good of it also.

His comparison of the state of Attica to "small islands" seems to shew that he conjectured the same to have taken place in the islands of the Aegean. This is true, I imagine, of most of them, but not of all; *e.g.* several islands since Plato's time have been created near Thera by volcanic action. (*Principles*, chap. xxvi.) Delos at any rate must have been volcanic. But Plato of course could not distinguish the two kinds.

Plato enjoyed great facilities for observation on this question. "Les alluvions terrestres s'accumulent avec une assez grande rapidité; dans les montagnes de marbre exposées à un climat chaud les pluies et les torrents jouent un rôle important comme agents d'érosions et d'alluvions; ces montagnes ont généralement des pentes roides et sont presque dépourvues de végétation; aussi, lorsqu'un orage éclate, les eaux ne rencontrent pas d'obstacles, et dans leur marche rapide, elles entraînent la terre meuble qui est à la surface des roches. Un jour, en allant de Pikermi à Athènes, je fus assailli par un orage, et, en moins de deux heures, une partie de l'espace compris entre les monts Pentélique, Hymette et Lycabette fut converti en lac: mes chevaux, sur plusieurs points de la route, avaient de l'eau jusqu'aux genoux; le lendemain toute l'eau s'était écoulée à la mer ou s'était perdue dans les crevasses des rochers: on conçoit facilement quelle quantité d'alluvions de telles irruptions doivent apporter. Un autre jour, dans un voyage à Sparte, *j'ai vu en trois jours des couches de limon s'accumuler aux bords de l'Eurotas sur une épaisseur de trois mètres*[1]." A man accustomed to such débâcles might more easily talk of "one night's rainfall" carrying off the whole surface of the Acropolis than could a

[1] Gaudry, pp. 450, 451. The italics are mine.

dweller in our climate. But here Plato falls into the same error as all the geologists before Lyell. Though he actually allows nature nine thousand years to work in, he compels her to do all her work in a single night[1]. I mean this to refer to his words about the Acropolis only, for as to Attica in general, he allows "many great deluges" during the whole space of time, but he invokes a series of catastrophes instead of gradual and on the whole uniform action. It is noticeable however that it is *rain* which he invokes, and here he hit the right nail on the head, for "sub-aerial degradation is a much more important agency than coast-action or the power of the waves[2]." This however is only natural, for we have seen that the action of rain was prominently brought before his notice, whereas the action of the sea on the coast of Attica is not at all obvious. Here he reminds us strongly of the early geologists with their "Noachian deluge" and similar catastrophes. But it is here that he shews himself distinctly inferior to Herodotus, to say nothing of Strabo. Moreover in any case he does not allow time enough, for nine thousand years is a paltry quantity.

These errors could scarcely at that time be avoided; his merit on the other hand is very great, and he must certainly be no longer omitted from the history of geology.

ARTHUR PLATT.

[1] This mistake is the same as he made about laws, language, etc., always supposing such things to be made at a single blow.

[2] *Origin of Species*, 6th ed., p. 267.

P.S. Professor Hughes has been so kind as to read over the proofs of this paper and give me many valuable suggestions and corrections.

ADVERSARIA.

Cicero.

De Oratore 1 § 241. *Licet igitur impune oratori omnem hanc partem iuris non controversi ignorare.* I quote the text as Professor Wilkins prints it after Dr Reid's conjecture *non controversi* for the MS reading *in controversiis.* Professor Wilkins does not mention that Lambinus corrected *in controversiis* into *incontroversi*, which seems to me as simple and certain as anything of the kind can be, and to be as far as possible from deserving the condemnation and oblivion to which Lewis and Short consign it.

In Verrem 2 5 § 125. *Vobiscum Africanus hostium spolia et praemia laudis communicavit, at nunc per me spoliati...in hostium loco numeroque ducimini? Per me* is the reading of the best MSS; perhaps it is a corruption for *per Verrem.*

Ib. § 119. *Atque ipsi etiam adulescentes cum Sextio suo de plaga et de uno illo ictu loquebantur.* I cannot but think that the words *de uno illo ictu* are a gloss, introduced by *et* (= *i.e.*) in the usual manner. *Plaga* refers to the narrative of § 118, and to Cicero's words *Quid? ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis?* True, Nonius p. 369 quotes the passage with the words *et de uno illo ictu:* but it is quite possible that he means them to explain the word *plaga* in the sense of *vulnus*, and that his note should be read..." *adulescentes cum Sextio de plaga*," *i.e. de uno illo ictu*, " *loquebantur.*"

Legg. 1 § 17. *Tum haec tractanda quae composita sunt et descripta iura et iussa populorum.* I suppose *et iussa*, in the same way, to be a gloss on *iura.* In Verg. Aen. 10 35 the majority of the ancient MSS give *cur nunc tua quisquam Vertere iussa potest?* But the Romanus has *iura:* rightly as I believe, *iussa* being a gloss to explain the rarer word.

Scriptor Belli Africae.

48 1. *Cum tribus legionibus equitibusque frenatis DCCC, Numidis sine frenis peditibusque levis armaturae...ad Scipionem est profectus.* *Sine frenis* I suspect to be a corruption (perhaps from a gloss) for *infrenis:* Verg. Aen. 4 41 *et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis.* So perhaps the word *infrenus* should be restored to 19 4 *cum...Numidarum sine frenis VII milibus;* and 61 2 *universus equitatus ulterior Numidarum Gaetulorumque sine frenis ab dextera parte se movere...coepit, frenatus autem Labieni eques in loco permanere.*

Horace.

Ars Poetica 245, *Ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses Aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus unquam, Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta.* *Paene forenses* must surely mean nearly the same thing as *innati triviis*, and refer to the low obscenity of the streets. But how can *forensis* have this meaning? Only if Horace is translating the Greek *ἀγοραῖος* in the sense of 'vulgar.' And this is not too much to suppose, when in the *Ars Poetica* he translates *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν* by *potenter* (v. 40), *συμπαίζειν τινί* by *colludere alicui* (v. 159), *κύρια ὀνόματα* by *dominantia nomina* (v. 234), and *νεανιεύεσθαι* by *iuvenari* (v. 246).

Frontinus.

Strategematon 1 5 1. *Quintus Sertorius in Hispania, cum a tergo instante hoste flumen traicere haberet, vallum in ripa eius...duxit.* So the MSS; Hartel conjectures *averet*, Gundermann *traiciendum haberet.* Perhaps we should read *traicere e re haberet,* merely repeating the last three letters of *traicere.*

Tacitus.

Hist. 2 77. *Aperiet et recludet...victricium partium vulnera.* The parallels which Heräus adduces from Tacitus to this meaningless tautology, such as *desertor ac proditor, raptus et latrocinia,* have more rhetorical force. Did Tacitus write *aperiet et rescindet?* This would surely be more in his manner.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ON THE *PERVIGILIUM VENERIS*, AND *TIBERIANUS I.* v. 7.

Two points have occurred to me on reading Mr Mackail's very interesting and suggestive paper.

First, with regard to the authorship of the poem. Mr Mackail does not mention the fact that Baehrens, who edited it in the fourth volume of his *Poetae Latini Minores* (Teubner, 1882), attributes it to Tiberianus (*praefectus praetorio* A.D. 336). The fragments of Tiberianus are edited by Baehrens in his third volume; the first, consisting of twenty trochaic lines, seems to me to resemble the *Pervigilium* in style far more than the poems of Annius Florus do. Secondly; before we accept Mr Mackail's plea, that his division of the poem into twenty-two stanzas is supported by the statement of the title in S, *sunt vero versus* XXII.; ought we not to be assured that *versus* can mean anything but *lines*? Certainly neither Marius Victorinus nor Servius, when treating of the metres of Horace, ever uses the word in any other sense, nor do I think that any other sense of the word is common in Latin. But perhaps Mr Mackail knows of instances in which it means *stanzas*.

One verse out of the twenty trochaics of Tiberianus badly requires emendation: 7 (p. 264 Baehrens) *et nemus fraglabat omne violarum spiritu.* Baehrens writes *violarum sub spiritu*, regardless of metre. I suggest *violularum spiritu*: coining for the nonce the diminutive *violula.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

PSALM XLIX. 15.

In this very difficult and no doubt corrupt passage it is possible that for שַׁחוּ we should read שַׁחוֹ; compare Prov. ii. 18—כִּי שָׁחָה אֶל־מָוֶת בֵּיתָהּ. But the obscurity of the following words renders it necessary to offer any emendation with reserve, as it is not unlikely that something has fallen out.

PSALM L. 20.

The ἅπαξ λεγόμενον דפי is variously explained as meaning "reproach" (so most Jewish interpreters), or "stumbling-block" (LXX. *σκάνδαλον*). Neither of these meanings, however, can be said to rest on satisfactory evidence. With regard to the first interpretation, the fact that the Targum has דופיא for דפי seems to shew that the word was known only from this passage and that there was no certain tradition as to its sense. The connection of דפי with דָּפַק and with the Arabic دفع is also extremely doubtful, for until the meaning of a word has been thoroughly established, it is hazardous to connect it with other roots simply on the ground of its having two radicals in common with them. That the idea of "striking" or "thrusting" was in the mind of the Greek translator, is improbable, since *σκάνδαλον* is used also as the rendering of מִכְשׁוֹל (Lev. xix. 14. I. Sam. xxv. 31. Ps. cxix. 165), and the meanings "to strike" or "to thrust" never belong to the root כשל (see Gesenius' Thesaurus s. v.). When to these considerations we add the strange construction of the phrase בבן־אמך תתן־דפי, it is hard to believe in the soundness of the text. It would be a very slight change to substitute תִּתְגַּדֵּף for תתן־דפי. Else-

where the verb גדף occurs only in the Piel, with the object in the Accusative, but the use of a Hithpael in the present case is supported by the analogy of התקלס, התעלל, and התעתע (II. Chron. xxxvi. 16), all of which are construed with the preposition ב; התגדף, "to shew oneself a reviler", would bear somewhat the same relation to מגדף (Psalm xliv. 17) that התלוצץ (Is. xxviii. 22) bears to לֵץ.

PSALM LXXX. 7.

In this verse מדון is taken to mean "an object of contention" (Gesenius, "Zankapfel"), and hence it has frequently been concluded that the Psalm dates from the period when the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic dynasties were contending for the possession of Palestine. But a comparison with Psalm xliv. 14, 15, makes it probable that מדון is a mistake for מָנוֹד (equivalent to מְנוֹד רֹאשׁ). That the simple מָנוֹד may be used in this sense appears from Psalm xxxi. 12, if we accept the very plausible suggestion made by Lagarde (Proph. Chald. p. xlvii.) that מְאֹד is there a corruption of מָנֹד.

PSALM LXXXV. 14.

The clause וְיָשֵׂם לְדֶרֶךְ פְּעָמָיו has been rendered "and she (i.e. the divine Righteousness) places her steps on the way", i.e. marches onward; or "places (her foot) in the way of His steps"; or again, "makes His steps a way (to walk in)"; or finally, "takes heed to the way of His steps", understanding יָשֵׂם as equivalent to יָשֵׂם לִבּוֹ. The difficulties presented by each of the above interpretations led Schrader to propose the emendation—וְיִשְׁמֹר דרך פעמיו. The sense however seems to require an antithesis like that in verse 12, and it is therefore possible that יָשֵׂם may be the corruption of some abstract noun, such as יֹשֶׁר or יְשַׁע—"Righteousness shall go before Him, and uprightness (deliverance) in the way of His steps".

A. A. BEVAN.

ADDENDUM TO CATULLIANA.

In my paper in the last number of the *Journal of Philology* (pp. 226 foll.) I passed over with some reluctance a well-known line in the *Attis* which presents a metrical difficulty

LXIII 53 ut aput niuem et ferarum gelida stabula forem
et earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula.

If that difficulty could be got over, I think there is no fault to be found with the verse; but unfortunately it seems insuperable.

If in a Latin quantitative metre – ⏑ can be substituted for ⏑ –, then metrically anything is possible.

Of the emendations proposed already, *omissa* Heins., *amica* Muretus, *opaca* and *operta* L. Mueller fail from inherent weakness; *ad omnia irem*, Avantius, from abolishing the unquestionably genuine *adirem*, 'go near,' 'go and brave,' cf. Ov. M. 14 126 loca mortis adire. Baehrens, abandoning his previous *alumna*, now conjectures *ad ima* for *omnia*. A somewhat more probable change in my opinion would be to read VT *ima*. And had either reading been found in the text, it would have passed unchallenged. But I do not feel altogether certain that *omnia* should be discarded. B. indeed says that 'tam metrum respuit quam sententiam.' But this employment of *omnia* is thoroughly Latin; and it is not more surprising that the excited Attis should speak of his visiting *all* the wild beasts in their dens than that the excited Cybele should tell the lion to make *all* places resound with his roaring, 82 'face *cuncta* mugienti fremitu loca retonent.' If, however, we wish to keep *omnia*, we

must give it a somewhat unusual, though not unexampled, scansion making it *omnya*, as in V. Aen. 6 33 quin protenus omnia Perlegerent oculis; cf. 7 237 uerba precantia (precantya). If any one thinks this contraction before an elision to be a difficulty, let him compare examples like Aen. 7 555 talia conūbia et tales celebrent hymenaeos, 12 401 Paeōnium in morem senior succinctus amictu, G. 4 243 stellio et lucifugis congesta cubilia blattis. If *omnia* be scanned thus, we shall only require the addition of *ad* or *ut* to complete the metre.

LXI.

I wish to add a few words on the metrical structure of this poem, so far as it is bound up with the question of reading of the refrain '*io* (or *o*) Hymen Hymenae io | *io* (or *o*) Hymen Hymenaee' in 124, 125 (Schwabe's numbering) and in subsequent stanzas.

Editors have been divided on two questions:

1. As to whether the stanza is (*a*) a whole, or (*b*) is made up of two parts (3 + 2 = 5) as

> Collis o Heliconei
> cultor Vraniae genus
> qui rapis teneram ad uirum
> Virginem, o Hymenae Hymen
> o Hymen Hymenaee.

2. As to whether (*a*) *io* the MS reading should be retained in the refrain or (*b*) changed to *o*. Thus, besides the correct view of Dawes and Munro (1 (*a*) + 2 (*a*)), we have 1 (*b*) + 2 (*a*) held, e.g., by Ellis and Baehrens[1], 1 (*a*) + 2 (*b*) by Riese and Schwabe[1], 1 (*b*) + 2 (*b*) by Vahlen and B. Schmidt.

As to 1, I think the first impression of any one who reads the poem without bias would be that each stanza is one and

[1] It is not necessary to discuss the two intermediate views separately. If *io* (*yo*) is the correct reading, the only ground for a break after the third line disappears. If there is no break in the stanza (as Riese thinks), the importation of *o* produces 10 motiveless violations of the synaphea of the poem.

indivisible; and certainly the division of a stanza with scheme *cccccd* into *ccc* + *cd* must strike all such as a curious one.

If it exists, we expect to find it reflected either in the metre, that is to say in at least a double quantity of the last syllable of the end of each part, or at any rate in such a pause in the sense as justifies editors when they arrange elegiac verse in strophical structure.

To take the latter question first, an examination of the poem stanza by stanza confirms our first impression, and shows that it might be as reasonably divided *cc* + *ccd* as *ccc* + *cd*.

Throwing aside the fragmentary stanzas, numbered 76—83 and 111—115, and, for the moment, those containing the refrain in question, we find that a comparison of the breaks at the end of the second and third lines of each stanza gives the following result:

	Second line.	Third line.
Long pause (e.g. ll. 47, 53) ...	3	2
Short pause (e.g. 2, 7, 13) ...	10	5
No pause ...	20	26
	33	33

If we divide the 'short pauses' between the 'long pauses' and the 'no pauses' the proportions of 'second line' and 'third line' become 25 : 28½.

Thus we see here that there is less internal evidence for a break at the end of the third than at the end of the second line.

The stanzas in which the *io* refrain appears give the following result:

	Second line.	Third line.
Long pause	3	9
Short pause	3	2
No pause	5	—
	11	11

It is obvious that the difference is solely due to the refrain, which requires some sort of stop to precede it. It would there-

fore be much more reasonable to break the stanza into two parts after the second line on the strength of the first table than after the third line on the strength of the second table. How blind indeed scholars may become, under the influence of a preconceived idea, is shown from their ignoring the fact that in the stanzas where the *o* refrain occurs (lines 4, 39, 49, 59), the pause is always *before the refrain* and not at the end of the third line.

With one single very doubtful exception, omnibus | et, 222, 223, the last syllable of each of the first four lines of the stanza is long by nature or position; and there is, of course, no hiatus. The evidence for a break after the third line rests entirely on the wholesale introduction of *o* into the *io* refrain. The result of this importation is as follows. In 1 place (148) it makes no difference, in 4 places (153, 163, 168, 178) it leaves a vowel short, and in 6 places it introduces a hiatus (123, 143, 168, 173, 183, 188). On comparing the rest of the poem, we find that while in 10 out of these 11 stanzas the final vowel of the third line is either short or in hiatus, in the remainder, 33 stanzas in all (omitting fragments), in which Catullus was perfectly free to use the same liberty, that final vowel is, with one doubtful exception, never short and never in hiatus!

This curious result is obtained by altering the MS. text twenty-two times, the *io* in the last line of each of the eleven stanzas being sent the same way as the *io* in the fourth line. The only motive seems to be to avoid giving *io* a scansion (*yo*) which is well attested for other writers, and the admission of which will leave the metrical treatment of the poem without an irregularity; and the cogency of the argument in favour of it may be estimated from the following presentation:

BECAUSE Catullus uses *o*		
in the invocation of the nuptial God	in the middle of a line	in the formula *Hymenaee Hymen,*
THEREFORE		
in the nuptial shout itself	at the beginning of a line	in the formula *Hymen Hymenaee,*

he must also have used *o*!

I take this opportunity of acknowledging that the priority in suggesting *queritur* in Cat. 83. 6 is due to Prof. A. Palmer. The same scholar seems also to have anticipated Riese in reading *iocosis...diuis* 36. 10.

J. P. POSTGATE.

SPONDEES IN THE FOURTH FOOT IN HOMER.

SEVERAL things led me some time ago to examine how far and with what if any restrictions a spondee is admitted by Homer in the fourth foot. Though I fear that this investigation was a great deal more trouble than it was worth, I will give the results such as they are. In this paper I shall mean by a "spondee in the fourth foot" a single word of two long syllables constituting that foot.

In the *Iliad* (La Roche's text) there are 280 instances. In so long a poem this suffices at once to shew that, generally speaking, *Homer avoids a spondee in the fourth foot.*

But of these we may resolve a large number; 42 genitives in *-ου*, 15 infinitives (e.g. Γ. 393 read *ἐλθέμεν* for *ἐλθεῖν*), 9 oblique cases of *ἠώς*, *αἰδόα* in B. 262, O. 561, 661, *ἰχόα* in E. 416, *ἱδρόϊ* in P. 385, *Λητόος* in Π. 849, *αὐτοῦ* = *there* 8 times (I should prefer *αὐτόο* decidedly to *αὐτόθι*, for why should the latter have been changed?), probably *ηὔδαε* in A. 92 and *εἴαε* in Σ. 189. It is also I think generally supposed that we should read *ἤνιδα* for *ἦνιν* in K. 292; (many of the others are also acknowledged on other grounds). In O. 298 and Ψ. 310 *τὸν δ' οἴω* and *τῷ τ' οἴω* have been diversely corrected; I should prefer *τὸν ὀΐω* and *τῷ ὀΐω*, which seem possibly pointed to by the MSS[1]; in Φ. 533 we should read *νὺν ὀΐω* (*νῦν οἴω* MSS)[2]; *νυν* = *now* is short in K. 105; and Quintus Smyrnaeus xi. 491, xii. 540, in neither of which passages can *νύν* be enclitic; and indeed there must have been surely an intermediate *νύν* between *νῦν* and the enclitic *νυν* in any case; again how foolish are the transpositions resorted to in these lines! I have a

[1] Dr Leaf on Ψ. 310 observes that "the contraction is merely a mark of lateness". If the contraction alone were in question I should agree with him.

[2] Eustathius however on this line says "*οἴω ἢ οἴω*", so that apparently there was actually a tradition of *νὺν ὀΐω* in his time.

suspicion further that we should read *ἄμφοε* for *ἄμφω* in 8 places; surely the line in the sixth fragment of the *Cypria*:

δεινοῖσ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω δρυὸς ἄμφω κοίλης

is every way better emended by reading *ἄμφοε* than by the violent transpositions as usual resorted to[1]. However, that I may not be accused of unduly pressing the facts, I will leave *ἄμφω* out of the calculation altogether. Then we have 86 resolved out of 272, i.e. nearly one-third. Now mere accident would hardly have enabled one-tenth of them to be resolved; take for instance a word like *καλός*, and then only the masculine and neuter genitive singular can be resolved in all the cases of singular and plural together (and the dual practically does not occur), or a word like *βαίνω* where no spondaic form can be resolved except the infinitives.

Accordingly this gives stronger proof of the first rule, that a spondee in the fourth foot is avoided, and establishes a second, that *all spondees in the fourth foot must be resolved if possible.*

Let us now examine the remaining 186 cases. The most remarkable fact about them is the existence of a large class in which the spondee is a word governed by a preposition immediately preceding. I will give a few examples:

ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο. A. 46.
αὐτοκασίγνητος, περὶ μέσσῳ χεῖρε τιτήνας. N. 534.
ὣς φαμένη Σθένελον μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων ὦσε χαμᾶζε. E. 835.
οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἅμα λαῷ θωρηχθῆναι. A. 226.

A few, probably well under a dozen, are of this form:

χαλκῷ δηώσῃ ἀπό τ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἕληται. II. 650.
τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω· περὶ δ' αὐτῆς πειρηθήτω. Ψ. 553.

The number of this preposition class is 77. Apparently the preposition and noun or adjective go so closely together that the same objection is not felt to a word with preposition as without. Yet if preposition and substantive actually were one word, they might be objected to! So delicate is the Homeric

[1] The scansion of *κοίλης* in the *Cypria* need hardly trouble us.

scansion that he objects as a rule to the rhythm of ὅ με' ἔτλης ἀντίος ἐλθεῖν, and objects, as I have shewn in a previous paper, to the rhythm of ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινόν, and yet will admit περὶ μέσσῳ χεῖρε τιτήνας as being in a way intermediate. And ἐξ ἵππων etc. are common enough, yet a molossus in this place is almost entirely forbidden.

The same applies to other instances where a word is very closely united to the preceding, especially if it is connected by "τε καί". Of this there are 18 instances, e.g.:

στῆσαν ἄρ' ἡμιόνους τε καὶ ἵππους, ὄφρα πίοιεν.

Note further that all are either nouns, including several proper names, pronouns or adjectives, and that they are mostly stock phrases[1].

Connexion by καὶ alone is much less common (nine times), but exactly the same remarks apply, except that καὶ ἔτλην is found in Σ. 433, but that is late, in the ὁπλοποιΐα (καὶ ἔτλη however occurs in δ. 242, 271).

ἠδὲ only B. 500 : οἵ τ' Ἐλεῶν' εἶχον ἠδ' Ὕλην καὶ Πετεῶνα.

ἦ or ἤ τε in B. 460, I. 276, Λ. 410, O. 691, P. 42, T. 177, Φ. 111. Of these T. 177 is spurious; the spondee in it and the rest is a noun except Λ. 410: ἤ τ' ἔβλητ' ἤ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον.

Phrases such as τῶν δ' ἄλλων, καὶ ἄλλοις occur 19 times. Some of these might otherwise be classed under the head of connexion by καί. So we have οἳ δ' αὐτοὶ and other like phrases with αὐτός ten times. Also the phrase σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες in M. 43, 86, N. 152, and τὰ σ' αὐτῆς Ϝέργα in Z. 490.

ἥμιν occurs in A. 579, ἡμεῖς in Γ. 104.

ἔμπης P. 632, αὖτως T. 348 (μὰψ αὖτως).

Coming to nouns, we find that ἀνδρῶν is remarkably privileged in this respect, being found seven times, besides τ' ἄνδρῶν in Ω. 343; τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν occurs several times but has been put in a former class. Also δ' ἀνὴρ in Ψ. 112. So αἰγῶν, ἵππων, ἵππους, ἵπποισ', οἰῶν in B. 474, H. 240, Π. 154, 506, Σ. 588, Ω. 576, 690. Of proper names there are four, Χρύσην

[1] The references are Δ. 151, E. 176, 407, K. 338, N. 711, Ξ. 56, 68, Π. 425, 832, H. 386, Θ. 203, 214, I. 150, 292, P. 740, 745, X. 44, 462, Ω. 350.

twice in A, *πόσις* "Ηρης in K. 5, and Τρώων in P. 513. Add Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (O. 37), *ἀχλὺς* (Υ. 421, part of the *Menis* presumably, but the reading is doubtful) and *ἀστὴρ* (T. 381; *ἀστήρ* is followed by *ὡς* and, considering the way *ὡς* is regularly added after a noun, perhaps *ἀστὴρ ὡς* may be regarded as practically one word), and this completes the list of nouns.

We may say therefore that a spondaic noun in the fourth foot is excessively rare except with the restrictions given above, men and animals being curiously favoured. Unluckily we cannot test these results by comparing other poets, for the old Epic writers are in the same case, and the later scarcely admit a spondee in any form at all before the bucolic diaeresis.

Of adjectives there are only four (Θ. 217, N. 360, Σ. 313, X. 383).

Of verbs *πίνουσ'* and *οἴχονθ'* (E. 341, Ω. 542; these two having a syllable elided are somewhat exceptional), *ἔστη* (K. 354, 374), *ἵκει* (Σ. 406), *ἔτλης* (Φ. 150), *κήδων* (Ω. 542). Moreover there are only two verbs in the exceptional classes as mentioned above, so that there are only nine verbs in the whole *Iliad* in this position. Therefore the emendation *σκῆπτρ' ἔσχον, Ϝεῖπέ τε μῦθον*, printed by van Leeuwen and da Costa in their text (H. 277), can be almost proved as wrong as it is certainly unnecessary. It may also be noted that the verbs appear mainly in later portions of the poem.

οὔ πω in M. 203, 270 is printed by La Roche as two words and may at any rate be so regarded.

The *Odyssey* and *Hymns* give practically the same results as the *Iliad*, but I will spare the reader a repetition of tedious details. Perhaps the phrase *ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοντο* may be specially noted. Hesiod is a little freer. See e.g. *Theogony* 200, 609, *Shield*, 151, *Works and Days* 306, 489, 778.

ARTHUR PLATT.

P.S. With reference to the resolution of Homeric forms I find that Quintus Smyrnaeus has forty-five spondees in the fourth foot of which *only three* could be resolved in Homer. I have therefore rather under- than over-stated the case.

α. 157, *δ.* 70, *ρ.* 592.

ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλήν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοίαθ' οἱ ἄλλοι.

So Zenodotus and MSS.; *πευθοίατο ἄλλοι* Aristarchus. If *οἱ* = *Ϝοι* the digamma is neglected, if it is the article the use is un-Homeric. Undoubtedly this points to the reading *πευθοίατό Ϝ' ἄλλοι*, the only difficulty being the dative after *πευθοίατο*. But seeing that the dative is used by Homer with *ἀκούειν* and *κλύειν* (Leaf on E. 115, Π. 515) this is not a serious one. True there is no question here of "hearing with favour", but if the dative could be used at all with such verbs, the extension of its use would be easy. The enclitic *Ϝοι* could of course be elided.

γ. 7. *ἐννέα δ' ἕδραι ἔσαν, πεντηκόσιοι δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ.*

Nestor is found on the shore at Pylos, sacrificing, begirt, as appears from this line, with *four thousand five hundred* men sitting in or on nine *ἕδραι*. What sort of *ἕδρα* can have held five-hundred men? And nowhere else do we hear of such a number of people collected together for such a purpose. Why, the whole army which went with Nestor to Troy, not only from Pylos but from Arene and Thrium and half a dozen places besides (B. 591 seqq.) was only just this number of 4500, if we take his ninety ships (B. 602) to have carried fifty men apiece (Π. 170).

This reading *πεντηκόσιοι* seems therefore a little difficult. Now there is another given by HIN, to wit *πεντήκοντα*. H and N are the two best MSS. of the *Odyssey* after M, I going sometimes with one and sometimes with the other, and the

united testimony of H and N is pretty strong. Here they seem to me to preserve a reading worthy at any rate of more attention than it has ever received. The quantity is of no difficulty at all; the metrical ictus is quite sufficient to account for it, and it would only weaken the case to invoke Latin analogies. Four hundred and fifty men are surely enough, and a good many more than you would expect.

I know the objections which will be raised to this. First, Aristarchus and Herodian both read *πεντακόσιοι* (lengthening, by the way, another short *α* by metrical ictus), and presumably Zenodotus and the rest read *πεντηκόσιοι*. But that only means that *πεντακόσιοι* or *πεντηκόσιοι* was given in most of their MSS., which I do not doubt. Secondly, I shall be told that the next line shews that each *ἕδρα* offered nine bulls, too many for fifty men. But it might with equal justice be said that they are too few for five-hundred. It is also at least possible that *προέχοντο Ϝεκάστοθι ἐννέα ταύρους* means: "they offered nine bulls, one from each *ἕδρα*". This is shewn by Ψ. 329: *λᾶε δε τοῦ Ϝεκάτερθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο λευκώ*, meaning "two stones, one on each side". Cp. *ι.* 430, λ. 578. And it might be urged that eighty-one bulls is a larger offering than one hears much of in Homer; even *nine* are a sumptuous offering according to his way of talking. The idea of propitiation by quantity is more Semitic than Greek.

γ. 120. *ἔνθ' οὔ τίς ποτε μῆτιν.*

Here again HIN give a variant: *ἐνθ' οὔ πώ τις μῆτιν*. Now as *πω* here stands for *πως*, this reading is the more difficult of the two and ought perhaps to be adopted.

γ. 418. Here DHILMN, including by far the three best MSS., read strangely *καρπαλίμως μοι φίλα τέκνα κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ*. This can hardly be pure accident, and it is worth while to point out that the line will scan after a fashion. For *φίλος* is twice long in Homer (Δ. 155, Ε. 359) and *τέκνον* is habitually short in Attic. So the Alexandrines may have persuaded themselves to accept this reading, for they could swallow a good deal in the way of scansion if they could only thereby cling to the text they had received. The inferior MSS. correct to *τέκνα φίλα*. Comparing Ω. 653: *σπείσατέ μοι κακὰ τέκνα,*

one may conjecture that the original was perhaps *καρπαλίμως φίλα τέκνα ἐμοὶ κρηήνατ' ἐϜέλδωρ.* This gives a possible form for the others to be derived from (which the vulgate does not), for the legitimate hiatus in the third foot is a perpetual disturbing cause.

In *ψ*. 26 again we find ACM giving: *οὔ τί σε λωβεύω, φίλον τέκνον, ἀλλ' ἔτυμόν τοι,* and Eustathius *φίλον τέκος*, the latter at any rate being a very respectable reading. Are we to consider this a genuine tradition, or as shewing that these words were somehow peculiarly liable to transposition? But it is one thing to find a reading in M, another to find it in HMN together.

δ. 244. Both the MSS. and the ancient critics vary between *αὐτὸν μὲν* and *αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας*, Ptolemy of Ascalon reading *αὐτὸν μέν*[1]. But *αὐτὸν* is unknown to Homer, and *αὐτόν* is not reflexive. On the other hand *μὲν* gives a good antithesis to *ἄλλῳ δέ* in 247, and according to Crusius the pronoun nowhere else stands *after αὐτόν*. If neither *αὐτὸν μὲν* nor *αὐτόν μιν* can be accepted, the correction is clear; read 'F' *αὐτὸν μέν* (the reflexive 'Fέ is not enclitic). Compare my note on *μὲν* and *μιν* in E. 181 in the last number of this Journal.

But alas! the same difficulty recurs in 247: *ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν* (*αὐτὸν* DN) *φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἤισκε* (*ἐϜέϜισκε*). And here I see no remedy, for 'F' *ἐϜέϜισκε* is hardly tolerable in itself and would be introducing the pronoun after *αὐτόν* again, and to read 'F' *αὐτὸν δ' ἄλλῳ* would be wrong since it alters the order of words and loses the antithesis of *μὲν* and *δέ*. Perhaps we should say that *αὐτὸν* here *is* reflexive, being so closely preceded by 'F' *αὐτόν*.

κ. 193. *εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔσται μῆτις· ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἴομαι εἶναι.*

Herr Menrad, offended by the contraction of *οἴομαι*, inverts the order of the words, *more suo*, and reads *ἔμμεν ὀΐω*. But he has not even seen the real difficulty. For though *οἴομαι* is suspicious it would be rash in the highest degree to say that it is impossible; it should only make us inclined to look a

[1] To him should apparently be added Quintus Smyrnaeus (V. 279).

little more closely into the line. The short and easy method of inversion of words has led Herr Menrad far from the truth, as it is pretty sure to do.

The situation is this. Odysseus and his companions have come to the island of Circe, and on the third day Odysseus goes up from the coast *εἴ πως Ϝέργα Ϝίδοιμι βροτῶν*, and he sees the smoke going up from the house of Circe embowered in the woods in the midst of the isle. He comes back and next morning makes a speech to his companions:

> *ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ Ϝίδμεν ὅπῃ ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἠώς,*
> *οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἠέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν*
> *οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἀννέεται, ἀλλὰ φραζώμεθα θᾶσσον,*
> *εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔσται μῆτις· ἐγὼ δ' † οὐκ οἴομαι † εἶναι.*
> *εἶδον γὰρ*

and he goes on to say how he saw the smoke from the middle of the island, shewing that there were inhabitants of some kind. Evidently he hints that they had better go and see if they can get any profit from them. Now if he had seen *nothing* he might well say *ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἴομαι εἶναι*: but as it was he *had* seen something and therefore thought there was some *μῆτις*.

So his companions understood him, for he goes on with charming naïveté:

> *ὣς ἐφάμην, τοῖσιν δὲ κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ*
> *μνησαμένοισ' ἔργων Λαιστρυγόνος Ἀντιφάταο,*
> *Κύκλωπός τε βίης μεγαλήτορος, ἀνδροφάγοιο.*

They did not weep because he did not see a device; no, they wept because he *did*, for they had had about enough of his *μῆτις* in the cases they bethought them of.

It is now clear that the difficulty lies more in *οὐκ* than in *οἴομαι*. The line must be emended so as to get rid of *οὐκ* as well as the peculiar scansion of the other word. Of many obvious ways of doing this I should prefer: *ἐγὼ δέ γ' οἴομαι εἶναι*, but it is impossible to be certain about it[1].

[1] *δ'οὖν* is most obvious but leaves *οἴομαι* untouched, and perhaps *δ'οὖν* is hardly thus used by Homer; *δέ κ'* *οἴομαι* will not do since *κε* is never found with infinitive; *δέ 'ϝ' οἴομαι* is tempting, but there is no place here

The corruption is not difficult to account for. On a superficial view the οὐκ seems to be wanted; it is only by carefully considering what has preceded and follows that it is seen that οὐκ is wrong. It was from a similar superficial view that ἔντοθεν was corrupted to ἔκτοθεν in ι. 239.

κ. 425. La Roche here observes that there appear from the MSS. to have been two different versions of this line; one αὐτοὶ δ' ὀτρύνεσθε ἐμοὶ ἅμα πάντες ἕπεσθαι, the other αὐτοὶ δ' ὀτρύνεσθ' ἵνα μοι ἅμα πάντες ἕπησθε. I think that the original which gave rise to both was this: αὐτοὶ δ' ὀτρύνεσθε, ἐμοὶ ἅμα πάντες ἕπησθε. The double difficulty of construction and hiatus might cause the double version. But for the former compare Ψ. 71: θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας ἈϜίδαο περήσω, with Dr Leaf's note, and the hiatus in the third foot is a notorious stumbling-block.

μ. 28. ὣς ἔφαθ', ἡμῖν δ' αὖτ' ἐπεπείθετο.

One MS. here gives αὖτε πεπείθετο, and though doubtless this is accidental I think it is probably the true reading here and where the phrase recurs. The natural rhythm points to it, and πεπείθετο represents πεπίθετο in accordance with the ordinary rule of Homer, that a word of more than three short syllables may have one of them lengthened. So μαχεόμενος becomes both μαχεούμενος and μαχειόμενος.

τ. 209. κλαιούσης ἑϜὸν ἄνδρα.

τεὸν is given as the reading of G and M. But this must be for τε ϝὸν, which is very likely right; two other MSS. have δ' ἑόν.

τ. 246. γυρὸς ἐν ὤμοισιν, μελανόχροος οὐλοκάρηνος.

ἔην ὤμοισιν Eustathius, ἔην ὤμοισι μελάγχροος Herodian. Is γυρὸς ἐν ὤμοισιν a Homeric phrase? I much doubt it; it should be γυρὸς ὤμοισιν. In the line before, again, Odysseus says he will describe Eurybates, οἷος ἔην (ἔεν?) περ, and immediately starts off in our line, γυρὸς κ.τ.λ. But the Homeric way of beginning a man's description is to say: *he was* so and

for ϝε, rather we want τινά; δέ τ' is not wanted as this is no place for generalizing. We are reduced then to choose between δέ γ', δ' ἄρ', γάρ, unless someone can suggest something better.

so. So of Thersites: **φολκὸς ἔην κ.τ.λ.** (B. 217; cp., in the *Catalogue*, 529, K. 316).

Read then: *γυρὸς ἔ' ὤμοισιν.* This accounts for the variants of Eustathius and Herodian and would easily be changed to our text, *ἔε* being a form of the third person, corresponding to *ἔα* in the first, which probably was common enough in Homer but has been generally changed to *ἦν* or *ἔην*.

φ. 142. The best MS. authority is for *ὅθεν τ' ἐπιοινοχοεύει*, a reading manifestly better in itself than *τέ περ οἰνοχοεύει*, the vulgate. The word *ἐπιοινοχοεύειν* recurs in the Hymn to Aphrodite, 204. The meaning is "whence he pours out the wine in order for us" the force of *ἐπί* being the same as in *ἐπιδέξια* etc. But the vulgate must mean "whence he pours out wine", which is barely sense.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON THE IAMBIC TRIMETER.

Everyone who has any acquaintance with anthropology will grant me that poetic rhythm is developed from dance and song in union. And I imagine that no one will dispute the assertion that in Greek poetry the metrical ictus, corresponding to the first note in the bar of music and the first step in the dance rhythm, falls on a long syllable, the only exception being where such long syllable is resolved into two short ones.

Starting from these axioms we shall find it easy enough to trace the origin of the common trimeter iambic. The designation "trimeter" itself points out the way. We must find a foot of such a kind that three of them make up an iambic line.

If we must begin the bar with a long syllable it is obvious that we must start with the second instead of the first, and must regard the first simply as the anacrusis, the raising of the foot before the dance-rhythm proper begins at all. (This indeed is I presume generally admitted.) Then we have at once a consistent, intelligible and beautiful system, of which I give what I conjecture to be the simplest and most primitive form:

$$\cup \mid - \cup - - \mid - \cup - - \mid - \cup -.$$

It is based entirely upon the second epitrite, one of the commonest figures in Greek poetry and a regular dance-rhythm.

The Second Epitrite. This foot with the dactyl and spondee almost entirely composes the Dorian odes of Pindar and the Alcaic stanza, and it is freely used in many lyrical metres. It corresponds pretty closely to our "common time" in music, as it is a bar having two beats, a strong one on the first note and a subordinate one on the third, but whereas the typical form of our common time is simply four crotchets the second epitrite

= ♩· 𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩. Evidently the most exact equivalent of our common time would be four long syllables, but owing to the frequency of the fact that in Greek music and poetry *the musical beat goes along with length of syllables* this form was not the prevailing one and the second epitrite gained the chief place[1].

Variations of the epitrite. There is one variation of the epitrite so beautifully employed by Pindar that I cannot help pausing to remark upon it though it is not germane to the matter in hand. I mean when the first syllable is resolved, giving the rhythm ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –. This foot does not by itself look remarkable but he has used it in the last lines of the strophes of the fourth Pythian ode with a most miraculous effect, giving to the verse the most exquisite lilt that can be conceived, e.g.

γόνον ἰδὼν κάλλ | ιστον ἀνδρῶν.

But the following variation, – ⏑ – ⏑ = ♩· 𝅗𝅥 ♩· 𝅗𝅥, is of great importance for the present subject. This is used by Pindar, but not so very commonly, in his Dorian odes, and is evidently considered by him as a relaxation of the strict form. For instance he only admits it twice in the whole of the fourth Pythian (line 5, -νος τυχόντος, and 23, δέξατ'· αἴσι-).

In the Alcaic stanza this relaxation was commonly admitted in all places. But that here also it is a variation on the original form is perhaps shewn by the fact that the Latin poets, seeking as usual for weight and dignity at the expense of a certain grace and lightness in their adaptations of Greek metre, did not admit it at all[2].

[1] For our common time in Greek see the appendix to this paper.

[2] Whereas anyone may with ease heap up dozens of instances of this variation on the epitrite in modern instrumental music, the epitrite itself is singularly rare. It will justly be ascribed to a very partial knowledge of the subject on my part, but I cannot think of any instances of it except about a dozen or twenty phrases of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. But as soon as we look at vocal music we find this form to be very common. It occurs for instance in Schubert's "Trout" Song, the Hallelujah Chorus in the *Messiah*, the last movement of the Choral Symphony, and very many other well-known pieces. So that in modern music also the influence of the words is apparent in altering the four equal notes to the epitrite.

Original form of Iambic. If, as I have just tried to shew, the double trochee was a relaxation of the epitrite this seems to point clearly to the conclusion that the original form of the iambic trimeter was that which I have given above, with a great preponderance of long syllables. But besides this I rely a good deal upon the exactly similar form of the "Metre Royal" in Persian. "As for the metre of the Poem," says Fitzgerald in the notice of Jámí's life prefixed to his translation of *Salámán and Absál*, "it is the same as that adopted by Attár, Jelal-uddín and other such Poets—and styled, as I have heard, the 'Metre Royal'—although not having been used by Firdusi for his Shah-nameh. Thus it runs:

$$- \cup - - \mid - \cup - - \mid - \cup -$$

a pace which, to those not used to it, seems to bring one up with too sudden a halt at the end of every line to promise easy travelling through an Epic. It may be represented in Monkish Latin Quantity:

> Dum Salámán verba Regis cogitat
> Pectus illi de profundis aestuat."

Add to this the short syllable for anacrusis and you have precisely the form which I was led by entirely different considerations to believe to be the original of the iambic. And indeed I wonder that so accomplished a metrist as Fitzgerald did not perceive that he had practically been writing a couple of Latin iambics.

Variations of original form. Admitting the above-mentioned relaxation of the epitrite and the long anacrusis as well as the short one we get the following form, in fact the ordinary iambic:

$$\breve{} \mid - \cup - \breve{} \mid - \cup - \breve{} \mid - \cup -$$

and we can see plainly (what is not at all plain on the vulgar hypothesis) why the spondee was admitted in what we call the first, third and fifth feet of the verse, but not in the other three. It is also plain that when the grammarians described the verse as acatalectic they were wrong, as it might be expected they would be somewhere from their mole-eyed fashion of going to

work. The verse is really catalectic, like the trochaic tetrameter which is built on the same foot admitting the same relaxations.

The further resolution of long syllables into two short ones each offers no difficulty, except possibly in the case of an "anapaest in the first foot." Here we must consider the two short syllables of the anapaest as being the resolved anacrusis of one long syllable.

External evidence for dance-rhythm. I have now given the internal evidence for the true construction of the iambic. But there is strong external evidence also that it was originally a dance rhythm and was sung. Apollodorus says in his *Bibliotheca* (I. 5): *ἔπειτα πρὸς* Κελεὸν *ἐλθοῦσα* [*ἡ Δημήτηρ*] *τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε* Ἐλευσινίων, *ἔνδον οὐσῶν γυναικῶν καὶ λεγουσῶν τούτων παρ' αὐτὰς καθέζεσθαι, γραΐά τις* Ἰάμβη *σκώψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιᾶσαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς θεσμοφορίοις τὰς γυναῖκας σκώπτειν λέγουσιν.* And again in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (200) we read:

> *ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος, ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος*
> *ἦστο, πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρὸς,*
> *πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύῃς μιν* Ἰάμβη *κεδνὰ* Ϝιδυῖα
> *πολλὰ παρασκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν, ἁγνὴν,*
> *μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·*
> *ἣ δή* Ϝοι *καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον ἔϜαδεν ὀργαῖς.*

It is quite clear from this that iambics formed part of the mysteries of Demeter, and there can be no reasonable doubt therefore that they were sung with dancing in accordance with the usual habit at mysteries.

Now we know that Demeter and Iacchus were worshipped together at Eleusis and that though Iacchus and Bacchus were two distinct persons they were confounded by the Athenians. Now compare the following from Bergk's Anthology, *Carmina Popularia:*

> *Ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι*
> *τῇ πόλει πάρεισιν·*
> *ἐνταῦθα (γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ) Δημήτριον*
> *ἅμα παρῆγ' ὁ καιρός.*

χὴ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια
ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποιήσῃ κ.τ.λ.[1]

and secondly:

Σοὶ Βάκχε τάνδε μοῦσαν ἀγλαίζομεν,
ἁπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλῳ μέλει,
καινάν, ἀπαρθένευτον, οὔτι ταῖς πάρος
κεχρημέναν ᾠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.

and thirdly, this short fragment from Archilochus in a metre (iobacchic) very close to that of the first song:

Δήμητρος ἁγνῆς καὶ κόρης | τὴν πανήγυριν σέβων.

Here we have three different rhythms, one common iambic and the other two varieties of it, all connected with Demeter or Bacchus, and shewing that such rhythms were especially appropriated to them. And all three were almost certainly sung (αἰόλῳ μέλει[2] proves this for the second), and therefore almost certainly danced to.

Add that the very name *iobacchos* connects that mainly iambic metre with Bacchus.

We can see then that it was only natural that some variety of iambic metre should be used at the Bacchic tragedy when dialogue was introduced. And this does not oppose the statement of Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 1, *Poet.* X.) that trochaics were the older metre in tragedy, for trochaics are only another variety

[1] It may be said that this poem is too late to be of any value. But I think it clearly modelled on or parodied from old hymns to Demeter and Iacchus, *son of Demeter*. The metre is ithyphallic, a mixture of iambics and pure phallics. It is well known that Aristotle (*Poetics* IX) derives comedy from τὰ φαλλικά, so that the adoption of iambics for comedy simply means the omission of the alternate phallics (either – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ or perhaps ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ as the phallic song *without* iambics runs in *Acharnians* 262) from the *sung* ithyphallic. Cp. *Carm. Pop.* 7:

(ἀνάγετε πάντες,) ἀνάγετ' εὐρυχωρίαν
τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε·
ἐθέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

[2] Why αἰόλῳ? Rather αὐλίῳ, for the flute is the instrument of Bacchus. ἁπλοῦν must mean simple or pure (ἀκήρατον) iambics as opposed to the mixture of iambics and other verses in the ithyphallic and iobacchic verses commonly sung to Bacchus. Cp. Archilochus 76: αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

of the common iambic, both being equally based on the epitrite, and Bergk rightly classes both under the general head of iambics. The final victory of iambic trimeter was doubtless owing to the fact that it, of all the various iambic forms, was the best suited for dialogue[1].

Rule of Cretic. Change from sung to spoken verse. In the first of the two songs quoted above the rule of the cretic is violated at least once, one line ending *ποίησον φίλτατε*, and another *ἡμῖν* (but possibly *ἦμιν*) *οὐδὲ ἕν*, besides another which ends *τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, καὶ καλός*. So Hipponax also, one of the very oldest iambic writers, violates the rule, and in the *Carmina Popularia* in general no attention whatever is paid to it. Now evidently if you *sing* an iambic trimeter, according to its true rhythm as given above, this rule of the cretic is utterly absurd. But when recitation or speaking supplants singing the character of the verse is somewhat changed, and the rule of the cretic is at once dictated by the ear. Plainly then when the comic poets did not trouble themselves about

[1] *μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστι.* Aristotle *ubi supra*. Cp. also XLI: *τὸ δὲ ἰαμβικὸν καὶ τετράμετρον κιφητικά· τὸ μὲν* (the latter) *ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν*. Not the least interesting of the many almost supernatural parallels in the development throughout of the Greek and English drama is this change of metre at an early period, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. For (after the doggrel stage derived from the miracle-plays had been passed) the regular metre for drama in England was a seven-footed accentual iambic, almost = trochaic tetrameter, as for instance in those misbegotten works, Peele's (?) *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* and Preston's *Cambyses*, which the "mighty line" of Marlowe superseded as the iambic did the tetrameter*. And the only other independently developed drama of Europe, the Spanish, also began with what are practically accentual tetrameters (generally acatalectic), but unluckily never got any further, for the Spaniards never succeeded in laying hold on a fit vehicle for drama, or Calderon would have been a much greater poet, great as he is. Query whether anything of the kind is the case with the fourth original drama, that of India?

* The only exception to this usage in the period between doggrel and blank verse that I know of is Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, which was printed as early as 1584. This is however more like a masque than a regular drama, and is rhymed throughout; as it is, the long seven-footed iambic plays a considerable part in it, just as the tetrameter does in the *Persae*. In these two plays you may see the old unsuitable metre yielding the field reluctantly to a stronger and younger competitor, just as rhyme again in Shakespeare gradually disappears before blank verse. The long iambic turns up again in that villainous vision in *Cymbeline* (Act v. Sc. iv. 30—113), which cannot be Shakespeare's, and may *possibly* be inserted from some old play on the same subject. Mr Swinburne thinks *Selinus* may have been *written* before *Tamburlaine*, but there is no proof of this.

the cretic they were not really "violating" any rule at all, but in their rougher style of versification were merely keeping to the old custom. I conjecture that this rule may have been first introduced by Archilochus, as he does appear to have observed it.

Besides this other changes came about when the verse was simply recited or spoken. The hephthemimeral caesura quite conceals the original character of the line, whereas the penthemimeral keeps it clear, and is the natural one. Of course both were used in the sung iambics[1], and while they were sung the character of the verse would be marked equally with either, but as soon as singing was given up the hephthemimeral caesura must cause the proper rhythm to be forgotten, and introduce a new one which was better suited for its purpose. Accordingly all the verses were looked upon from a new point of view, however they might be constructed, and the original rhythm was lost sight of so completely that the grammarians gave an absolutely wrong account of the system. I trust that I shall not be understood to advocate a return to this system in *reading* iambics; I do not wish to restore the stem for the flower, but simply to shew the true process of growth.

I cannot find that the dactyl in the fifth foot was ever admitted except by the comic poets, and this may be probably considered as an innovation of theirs. As to the other comic licenses I need only say that I agree absolutely with the views of Clarke[2], as I suppose every one else does.

We have now therefore arrived at the classical form both in tragedy and comedy, and concerning this what need we any further witness? Like blank verse in the hands of Milton and Shakespeare the iambic reached an incomparable perfection in the hands of Aeschylus and Sophocles, for the purposes of tragic poetry and tragic drama. Like blank verse in the hands of Fletcher, it was weakened and fluidified by Euripides, but

[1] In the oldest sung iambics of all one would suppose, at first sight, that no caesura would be necessary. But caesuras do seem to be sometimes observed even in metres that are sung (as generally in alcaics); so that it is impossible to speak definitely on the point. Certainly all the oldest iambics we possess are as careful of caesura as Aeschylus was.

[2] On *Iliad* B. 811.

remained in its main features unchanged until the ruin of Greek versification, when quantity began to give way to accent.

Byzantine iambic. The only Byzantine writer of iambics with whom I have more than a nominal acquaintance is Theodorus Prodromus, whose *Catomyomachia* is very well worth reading as an illustration of the decay of iambics and a parody of classical tragedy. I shall only speak therefore of this poem, but the same characteristics mark other Byzantine writers of iambics. Both here (and also in the same author's long romance in iambics and elsewhere) the most striking peculiarity consists in the unvarying occurrence of an accent on the penultimate syllable of the line[1]. I puzzled over this for a very long time without being able to see any possible reason for it, and it is curious that at last I saw an explanation of some kind by means of the true rhythm of the old iambic. I must premise that whereas this delicate attention is paid to accent, the false quantities are sprinkled with a most liberal hand; it is evident in fact that accent is easily getting the upper hand of quantity, though the excellent Bishop is clearly striving to write in classical measures, as far as quantity goes, without being at all able to understand what the classical measure really was. Any one who has ever looked into Tzetzes' desperate attempts at hexameters will understand at once what I mean, and though Prodromus's iambics certainly look much nearer to Attic verse than Tzetzes' hexameters are to Homer's, yet I do not think that is due to anything but accident, since iambics, as Aristotle says, are nearer to prose. The truth appears to be that the Byzantines by this time read iambics purely by accent, though they knew that they were based upon quantity.

[1] The only exception in the *Catomyomachia* is line 324:

παῖ παῖ Κρεΐλλε, παῖ παπαῖ παῖ
δέσποτα.

This line is obviously wrong on other grounds, for the Chorus is lamenting over the death of Psicharpax, son of Creillus, not that of Creillus himself. Read therefore

παῖ παῖ Κρεΐλλου, παῖ παπαῖ παῖ
δεσπότου.

Confusion of παῖ in different senses accounts for corruption. While about it I will add that in 364 we should read ἤλγησε δ' οὗτος for ἤλγησεν οὗτος.

Now if it was necessary for an accent to be on the penultimate syllable the only conclusion to be drawn is that the end of the iambic ran on the whole naturally as a set of trochees (accentual trochees of course) to the ear of the Byzantine. But it is surely incredible that they can have regarded the typical form of their iambic as six accentual trochees in a row! And as the caesura is preserved it is plain that there was a break in the middle of the line, which was scarcely due to observance of classical tradition, or to delicacy of ear, for Tzetzes knows nothing about the caesura in hexameters, and if the ear did not point it out there, where would it? We have this then to go upon—a trochaic ending and a caesura. Now begin your line according to the original rhythm of the iambic and you have what I think is the typical scansion of the Byzantine form, (1) with penthemimeral caesura

$$\asymp | \angle \cup \angle \cup \| \asymp | \angle \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup;$$

(2) with hephthemimeral caesura

$$\asymp | \angle \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup \| \asymp | \angle \cup \angle \cup.$$

Take for instance *Catomyomachia* 64:

εἰ | γὰρ προγνώσῃ || τῷ | δόλοις πρ(ό)σανέχειν.

and 311:

ὡς | εἴθε μ(ή)δ' ἐπῆλθες || ἀγ|γ(έ)ληφόρε.

But these typical forms occur very rarely, and as a rule the accents are tossed about anyhow; take the opening lines:

τί τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀνδρικώτατοι χρόνον
μένοντες εἴσω τῶν ὀπῶν ἀεννάως
δείμῳ σύνεσμεν καὶ φρίκῃ καὶ δειλίᾳ;

I can imagine the reader saying: "Why these are good iambics enough (except for *φρίκῃ*), and if the Byzantines chose to have an accent on the penultimate, it was a mere fancy of theirs; why all this elaborate explanation of such a simple matter?" But it is only by a dead scholarship (like our own)

that the Byzantines ever managed to keep right quantity; look at this:

Πλούτωνα Λητώ, σὺν Ἄιδῃ Περσεφόνην[1].

Still persons only used to English or even Italian accentual verse may well say that verses like these cannot be based on such a system as I propose. If however we go further afield we can find something pretty like. There is no doubt that the ordinary popular Spanish metre is typically four accentual trochees. But on the first pages of the *Romancero del Cid* I open this is the sort of accentuation I find:

Le júra de nó volvér
for: Lé jurá de nó volvér
ý de sú nóble condádo
for: noblé condádo
espántame, mí Rodrígo
for: éspantáme.

In Spanish and in Byzantine the one important thing is to get the accent on the penultimate[2]; the rest does not signify.

So again in the accentuation of French poetry, though that is not so like the Byzantine; for instance we should say perhaps—but I speak very tentatively—that the typical form of the Alexandrine was six accentual iambics, but all a French poet cares for is to have the accent come on the sixth and twelfth syllables; indeed in the oldest Alexandrines it is often only on the twelfth. I conclude then, without serious doubt, that the Byzantine iambics tended to split into two halves, each trochaic in nature and each with an anacrusis, and that the quantity is a pretence.

[1] Περσεφόνην is here correct quantity on the Byzantine principle, for it would not go into a verse without lengthening a short syllable. This accounts for the greater number of false quantities, as δίμεν = – ⏑ –, etc.; less commonly a long syllable is shortened for the same reason. But there is no excuse for σὺν or Ἄιδῃ or φρίκη quoted above, or for many others like them. Still upon the whole the quantities are right, though I cannot conceive this to be anything but an artificial device. Therefore Hercher is justified in changing the order of words sometimes, and otherwise paying some attention to quantity in his edition (Teubner). It must be remembered that trisyllabic feet are not admitted by the Byzantines.

[2] If the verse is catalectic, then on the last.

It may be observed that in some ways this form is a reversal to the original, just as a highly-cultivated plant will return to an ancestral form when let run wild. The first half of the verse assumes again nearly its original character (though the other half is utterly changed) when there is a penthemimeral caesura. All trisyllabic feet are rejected, so that here the verse goes back to the very simplest form. So Simonides Amorginus in the early days of literary iambics admits no trisyllabic feet (in verses 1 and 7 of his longest poem θεός appears to be a long monosyllable and the fragment τί ταῦτα μακρῶν διὰ λόγων ἀνέδραμον; has probably been misquoted or ascribed to the wrong Simonides). A similar phenomenon is to be observed also in the hexameter of the latest school. Nonnus, Tryphiodorus, etc. have a very great preponderance of weak caesuras over strong, and Nonnus never admits a spondaic ending, and he and Coluthus never omit the caesura; besides which the preference for dactyls over spondees is clearly marked. In all these points the latest hexameters revert undoubtedly to what was the earliest type.

I will now return to an intermediate link between the classical and Byzantine iambics. We should expect that when accent began to equal quantity in verse, accent and quantity would be made to coincide. This is of course impossible with the Byzantine iambic where the accent falls on a *short* syllable. But make that syllable long, i.e. take a scazon, and there at once is an iambic with quantity and accent united. This is found in the scazons of Babrius, and is attributed to the influence of the Latin scazon, where the accent almost universally was on the penultimate. Considering the tendency which led the Greeks to throw the accent on the penultimate in iambics, I cannot feel absolutely convinced that the Latin influence *alone* gave rise to the Babrian scazon, and perhaps other factors came into play. However that may be we here see the first step towards the form that ultimately prevailed, as early as the first half of the third century. But Babrius differs in everything else. Quantity is not yet lost for his quantities are as true as anybody's, and trisyllabic feet are admitted freely,

a far stronger proof that the quantity was genuine, not artificial[1].

Modern Greek form. There is a form of modern Greek verse which is practically identical with the Byzantine Iambic. It is that into which Musurus Pasha has recently translated the *Commedia* of Dante. He describes it in his preface as *μέτρον δωδεκασύλλαβον παροξύτονον, ὁμοῖον μὲν τῷ ἰαμβικῷ, ἔλλειπον δὲ τοῦ χρονικοῦ ῥυθμοῦ*; an exact definition if you add to it the observance of either one or other of the two caesuras. It will be evident at once that this is absolutely identical with the Byzantine form, except in the following particular; the Byzantines try to keep the quantity as well as the accent and Musurus neglects the quantity altogether. This distinction, all things considered, is very trifling.

I find this metre very agreeable reading after a little practice, more so than the Byzantine, inasmuch as where there is no attempt at quantity there can be no ill effect through lapses from it. Let me give as an example those three magnificent lines of Ulysses:

> Ἀναμνησθῶμεν οἵας ἐσμὲν γενέθλης·
> Οὐ γὰρ ἴδιον ἡμῶν τὸ ζῆν ὡς κτήνη,
> Ἀλλὰ θηρεύειν ἀρετὴν καὶ πιστήμην.

To appreciate it fairly a much longer passage is required, but even from these three lines observe how it falls into those two trochaic halves of the Byzantines. The accents however are not so capriciously distributed.

As to the "typical form" of both this and the Byzantine verse I do not suppose that the writers deliberately aimed at it; only that it is the natural end to which they tend. No more does a French poet aim at six iambics in his Alexandrine, yet that is how the Alexandrine is regarded by at least one good authority as being typically constituted. I have been the more careful to explain the verse of Musurus that I remember

[1] The fact that the Byzantines do not admit resolved syllables appears to me conclusive proof that their quantity was a sham, that they really had no intelligible distinction between long and short syllables.

seeing it sadly misdescribed in a review, when the Ἅδης was first published.

This then may be regarded as the final form so far into which the trimeter has been metamorphosed in Greek. Its development elsewhere does not belong to my present purpose, but I hope to trace this hereafter if possible. Whether a new growth can be expected from the latest form it would be difficult to prophesy with any certainty, nor does the present state of Greek poetry hold out much hope; but a metre that has once taken root is always apt to burgeon into unexpected forms, and there is no saying what may happen at a future date if the Greek nation should ever break out into a great poetical revival.

Meantime however that other detestable and well-named "prostitute" verse reigns supreme from the days of Tzetzes even till now[1]. But this is itself a variety of the iambic, being simply an accentual tetrameter catalectic. So that the iambic in some form or other may be said to have completely routed and supplanted the other classical metres.

Modern reading of classical iambics. This throws some light on the modern Greek and English methods of reading iambics. We see that all needed for a good verse in modern Greek is a caesura and a paroxytone accent, besides which trisyllabic feet must not be admitted. But that is just what you get in more classical iambics than not[2]. So that iambics do actually scan in the majority of cases when read by a modern Greek according to accent. Of course the scansion is very different from that of Sophocles, still scan they do[3], and those who call them absolutely absurd (as I did till now to my shame) are not so clever as they flatter themselves they are.

[1] They even write sonnets in it. Great Heavens! a sonnet in the metre of "A captain bold of Halifax who lived in winter quarters"! In English the metre is suited to the subject as it was by Aristophanes.

[2] Except in the later plays of Euripides where the frequency of trisyllabic feet is one of his many points of resemblance to the English dramatists of the decline.

[3] Of course this applies only to paroxytone verses with caesura and without trisyllabic feet, but as I said before these are more than half and often occur half-a-dozen together, in the better plays.

But I presume no competent judge will dispute the decision of Munro that "our reading of Homer and Virgil has in itself no meaning," and the same of course applies to our reading of iambics. As a matter of fact it very often represents more nearly the Byzantine or Musurus's iambic than any other. Let any man divest himself of his prejudices, remembering that we read almost entirely by accent[1] in reality, and consider how he does in truth read such lines as *σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι συρίζων φόνον*, and he will see the truth of this at once, for here our reading is exactly the same as that of the modern Greek. Let him take *εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος*, and he will see that he reads it with the rhythm of the modern iambic, though not quite in the same way as a modern Greek does. Then let him extend his view to such as *μετ' ἀνδρὸς ὅς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει*, where the accent (*our* accent) is somewhat dislocated from the Byzantine type but is in reality in its essence the same, and so proceeding onwards he may come to think that after all the difference between our way of reading iambics and that of the modern Greek is not so very great as it seems at first. At any rate he must confess that we have no right to speak of the latter as we habitually permit ourselves to do.

By this time it must be evident how easily the classical iambic was metamorphosed into the Byzantine. So naturally does it assume a trochaic ending when quantity vanishes that probably every modern nation which reads Greek at all has altered it into more or less the same form except the French. And the reason is that all these nations except the French accentuate words of two syllables on the penultimate. I must again guard myself by saying that this applies to lines ending with words of two syllables as far as the English way of reading goes. If there are more than two in the last word we mostly get back to a line which may be regarded as an accentual representation of a Greek quantitative line, and then we are nearer to the classical method (whatever that was) than the modern Greek is.

[1] Need I say that I mean *not* the Greek accent, but an English stress accent, which *per se* represents absolutely nothing whatever in the classical iambic, though it often *accidentally* represents the quantity?

Summary. The history of the iambic trimeter, as I understand it, was then as follows. Based on the epitrite, it was originally sung with dancing along with other "iambic" measures in the worship of Demeter; then extended to that of Iacchus and Bacchus. Becoming recited it changed its character in an important manner; it was used as a literary instrument by Archilochus and other poets, especially for satire, and returning to its old service of Bacchus was introduced into the dialogue of the drama, supplanting its near kinsman the trochaic tetrameter. Finally it was corrupted as I have just shewn when accent gained the victory over quantity. And there are in all four kinds of iambic trimeter: (1) the sung, (2) the classical recited or spoken (*a*) serious (*β*) comic, (3) the Byzantine, (4) the modern.

APPENDIX.

I will here add some miscellaneous observations which could not be conveniently introduced above.

Archilochus. I have taken no notice of the story that iambics were "invented" by Archilochus. This story is contradicted by the account given in the Hymn to Demeter which is very likely as old as Archilochus himself and is at any rate a better authority than any forthcoming in his behalf[1]. Popular opinion—and that is what this comes to—is the most erroneous guide to be found on a question of invention of metre. If we had no more of Italian than of Greek poetry and no better metrical writers upon it than the Greek writers, Petrarch would probably be credited with having invented the sonnet; and quite lately M. Asselineau was misled (very pardonably) into asserting that the sonnet was originated in Provence. And does not almost everybody believe that Tennyson invented the metre of *In Memoriam*, a metre at least as old as Ben Jonson?

[1] *If* the *Margites was* a mixture of hexameters and iambics, then, as it was popularly ascribed to Homer, evidently popular opinion cannot have been at all consistent on the point. Moreover, it is clear from the quotations given above from Apollodorus and the Hymn to Demeter, that Archilochus was not the first to use iambic metre as a vehicle for satire.

I think it probable that the truth is that Archilochus first used the iambic metre in literature as opposed to popular song, especially introducing the rule of the cretic, besides inventing the peculiarly Archilochian form of alternate trimeters and dimeters.

Scazon Iambic. I should think that the Greek scazon must have always appeared on the ordinary view the most idiotic metre to all who regard verse as appealing to any other sense than that of the fingers, particularly when a spondee is allowed in the fifth foot. But look at it in the proper light and it becomes quite intelligible:

and a rest.

e.g. ἔ | βωσε Μαίης | παῖδα Κυλλή | νης πάλ | μυν.

I need not explain any further the variations on this form, which are mainly the same as those of the iambic trimeter. But it is hard to see how such verses can well have been read, properly speaking, or even recited unless very artificially, and so the scazon was always a poorly growing plant and seems to have flourished very little until transplanted into Latin, in which it seems to me and to a far better judge, Dr Verrall, to have a very different effect. And here it may be observed that Greek lyrical metres, being written to be sung, cannot be read at all as a rule, and the only way to enjoy a chorus or an ode or anapaests is generally to recite it to oneself following the metre—scanning it in fact as a schoolboy scans Virgil—and not to read it at all like those metres which were meant to be read. It is no wonder that people cannot see any metre in Pindar while they persist in reading him like hexameters or iambics. And this was where the iambic got the advantage over metres sung like itself, and this was how it became of such importance; it could be read, as well as sung, by a slight change in its nature.

Corresponding forms. As the iambic is based on the epitrite corresponding to our common time, it is interesting to see what forms are like this in other literatures. To say nothing of other European metres, which are mostly descended

from classical iambic forms, the common Spanish metre already quoted is in common time; there are two main and two subordinate beats in each line, so that it nearly equals two epitrites. Exactly the same is the metre of the great Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*, a metre adopted by Longfellow in the *Song of Hiawatha*. I have also seen it stated that this metre is that commonly used by the Australian blacks. In fact the base of the trimeter is the commonest and most widely spread form of musical bar in the world.

But by far the most interesting is the Persian "Metre Royal" already given. I find this described in a Persian grammar as the twelfth variety of the metre "Ramal," the thirteenth variety of the same is identical, with a short syllable at end, instead of a long one, which in Greek makes no difference. The third variety is as follows:

$$- \cup - - \mid - \cup - - \mid - \cup - - \mid - \cup -$$

being in the same ratio to the Greek tetrameter as the Metre Royal is to the trimeter, and the fourth is to the third as the thirteenth to the twelfth.

One may observe how beautifully this illustrates the difference between the Oriental and Greek natures in an artistic point of view. The Oriental stiffness and lifelessness are here marked as plainly as in plastic art, and the Greek love of life and variety comes out as clearly as in the wonderful measurements of the Parthenon discovered by Mr Penrose, or the flowing lines of the Hermes of Praxiteles. Variety within definite limits, the principle which governs the greatest art of every kind, is missed by the Oriental because he keeps his eyes too steadily upon πέρας, but worse is the fault of those who plunge into the ἄπειρον and think they are free to overstep the eternal limits of art.

Musical accompaniment. We have seen that the iambic was connected with the worship of Bacchus, especially perhaps in its ithyphallic form. And the instrument devoted to Bacchus was the flute, as the lyre was to Apollo. Secondly, the trimeter and tetrameter (trochaic) are only two forms of epitritic metre, and tetrameters seem to have been regularly accom-

panied by the flute. (For instance in the tetrameter passage of the *Hercules Furens* Lytta says *τάχα σ' ἐγὼ μᾶλλον χορεύσω καὶ καταυλήσω φόβῳ* (871), being evidently accompanied by the flute. Cf. 896: *δάϊον μέλος ἐπαυλεῖται.* And the special connexion of the flute with Bacchus gives additional force to lines 890—894. And therefore I very strongly suspect that *ἐναύλοις* should be read for *ἀναύλοις* in 878.)[1]

There can be no doubt then that the proper accompaniment for iambics when they were sung was on the flute, probably resembling a bag-pipe more nearly than any other of our instruments[2].

"Homeric" scansion of iambics. Everybody knows the principle of Homeric scansion that a short syllable is almost universally lengthened before any two consonants whatever, unless a word cannot be got into the line without breaking this rule. But I do not know whether it has been observed how far early non-epic poets conform to it. In point of fact it is the rule with Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon (nearly always), Phocylides, Archilochus, Simonides of Amorgos (except one line: *φθείρουσϊ θνητῶν κ.τ.λ.*), Hipponax (nearly always), Alcman (in *frag.* 24, therefore, Bergk[3] is wrong in scanning *οὐκ εἷς ἀνὴρ ἄγροικος οὐδὲ* as = – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑; it should be – | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – ⏑; in *frag.* 60 and 74 however there appear to be exceptions), Sappho (except *ἐκέκρατο* in 51, but *μαλόδρόπηες* in 93 is not an exception for it could not otherwise be got into the verse), and Alcaeus. I say nothing of those poets whose remains are too small to afford proof. As this list includes the early iambic writers, it is clear that what I call "Homeric" as opposed to "Attic" scansion prevailed originally in the iambic,

[1] Cf. Archilochus 76, 77 (where Bacchus and tetrameters are again connected). Also Xenophon *Symp.* where an actor is mentioned as reciting *τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν.*

[2] However the famous *τήνελλα* song of Archilochus without doubt was accompanied by the lyre, and iambics largely compose it. I do not think this invalidates the proposition that the flute was the strictly correct accompaniment. In Pindar's *Odes* there seems to be no regular practice whatever about accompanying certain rhythms by certain instruments. So the lyre supersedes the flute in the worship of Cybele in a lyrical fragment (Bergk, p. 1320, large ed.).

[3] My references to Bergk (when not otherwise stated) are to the *Anthologia Lyrica* in the Teubner edition.

though it afterwards became the stronghold of the opposite principle, especially in comedy—that of shortening vowels before two consonants as much as possible.

This causes one slight difference, besides the others previously mentioned, between early and Attic iambics. In the latter a short syllable cannot be lengthened before two consonants beginning a succeeding word, unless the consonants are such that the vowel before them could not remain short. But in early or Ionic iambics one finds such things as *ἧς τῡ̄ πρὶν* (Archilochus 94), *εἴ τῑ φρονοῖμεν* (Simonides Amorg. 2), *σῦ̂κα μέτριᾱ τρώγων* (Hipponax 35). For strictly the vowel cannot remain short before these either.

This may have something to do with *impotentiā freta*, *ultimā Britannia*, etc. in the pure iambics of Catullus 4 and 29.

Common Time. Our ordinary "common time" of four crotchets is, I think, to be found in the Greek anapaestic metres. Let us take for example the anapaestic dimeter. It is evident that the term dimeter is purely arbitrary, for in a piece of anapaests there is as often as not an extra "metre," generally placed before the last line, but of course it might be placed wherever we please. And as synaphea prevails in these anapaests, the lines might be arranged anyhow; the dimetrical arrangement however is convenient for writing them, and this must be the reason why they are called dimeters instead of trimeters or anything else. This is very clear in Aeschylus, though by the time of Euripides they seem to be regarded as really "dimeters," to judge from the way he arranges his pauses.

The anapaestic metre therefore may be reduced to a single bar. What is the typical form of this bar? There are three we can choose from; the double spondee ( ), the double dactyl ( ) and the double anapaest (). It is clear from a musical point of view that the double anapaest is not the primitive form of these three. The metre is above all things a march rhythm, as is plain from its use in tragedy. And the natural simple form of march rhythm is four crotchets, that is the double spondee. Probably

this is the typical and original bar, of which the double dactyl and anapaest and the mixt forms (such as a spondee and dactyl) are variations. Why the Greeks had such a distinct preference for ending up a piece in march rhythm with the particular variation (e.g. *βροντῆς μύκημ' | ἄτἔρᾱμ | νῡν¯—*) one cannot even conjecture. And this is of course the invariable termination of the Aristophanic tetrameter. But this shews why they call such metres anapaestic rather than dactylic or spondaic.

ARTHUR PLATT.

P.S. I find that I was mistaken in supposing (as his preface led me to do) that Musurus first used the modern iambic. The earliest use of it I have found is in the tragedies of one Zampelios (born 1787, died 1856). But it seems to be rarely adopted.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ILIAD.

THE *apparatus criticus* of the Iliad has had a somewhat singular fate; it has broken down under the quantity and excellence of its materials, and there is perhaps no classical work whose MS authorities are less known in proportion to their extent. The causes of this are not far to seek. In the first place almost any extant MS is nearly good enough; at any rate a collation of almost any two will give us a readable text, metrical and intelligible, and critics have not been forced into the industry of despair by a text full of *ἰόφ ὀμ*. Even the early printed texts can be read, and after the edition of Turnebus (1554) the vulgate could be improved only by the exercise of higher scholarship, errors having been reduced to the rank of a very small disturbing element. Later on, when consciences had grown more hard to satisfy in the collection of evidence, the discovery by Villoison of the great Venetian codex threw all others into the shade, and seemed to make a collation of second-class MSS numbering probably nearly 200 a useless as well as an appalling task. Finally with the present century came the conviction that MS evidence after all could carry us but a small way towards an original text; and that a conjectural restoration of antiquity was not only easier and more exciting, but more scientific and more profitable, than research in libraries.

The attempts at giving an *apparatus criticus* have thus been absurdly few and imperfect. Barnes's collation of some five MSS at Cambridge and Oxford is worthless. Bentley collated several of these again as well as one Harleian, and also obtained a collation of the Lipsiensis; the readings of these he

noted in the margin of his *Poetae Heroici Graeci*, whence they were published by Heyne, often inaccurately enough. Clarke and Ernesti, and later Spitzner, did a little, but no serious advance was made till in 1864 C. A. I. Hoffmann published his "21*tes und* 22*tes Buch* (Φ *und* X) *der Ilias*." In this he gave a new collation of Ven. B, Laurentiani A and B (La Roche's C and D), the Lipsiensis and Vindobonensis v and cxvii (L and H); using the published edition of the Syrian palimpsest and the older authorities (Barnes, &c.) for Cant. Mor. Bar. Harl. Townl. Mosc. 2, Vratt. A, b, d. But the most important service which he rendered was the beginning of a classification of MSS. He distinguished the following groups—I use La Roche's symbols as the most convenient and familiar—; 1 the Leipzig group, consisting of Lips. and L; 2 the Florentine group, Ven. B and C; 3 an intermediate group, D and H, less closely connected together; while A and Syr. take each an independent position, also between the extremes of the Florentine and Leipzig groups.

Unfortunately Hoffmann's work marks the high-water point of this branch of criticism; what has since been done is not only no advance, but a woeful retrogression. The reason of this is to be found in the publication of La Roche's edition of the Iliad (pars prior 1873, pars posterior 1876). The work is ambitious enough, and gives collation of several new MSS; but as a foundation for criticism it is rendered almost worthless by badness of arrangement, and still worse by the grossest inaccuracy. To shew that no words are too strong to be applied to the latter, I will quote two instances which can be verified without recourse to MSS and cannot even be excused by fatigue or oversight in reading a crabbed hand; while at the same time they will illustrate the unworthy spirit of carping in which La Roche thinks fit to speak of his predecessor Heyne.

On Υ 393 *ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψε* La Roche's note is "*φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος* Heyne. Clarke. nescio unde. *ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος* libri mei. *ὄσσε κάλυψε* ACG Syr. *κάλυψεν* DH. *ὄσσ' ἐκάλυψε* S Vrat. A. Lips. Flor. Rom. *ὄσσ' ἐκάλυψεν* L." Now there is no excuse for La R. not knowing where the reading *φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος* came from; it is the old

vulgate given by all early printed texts, including Flor. Rom., as well as by Syr., all of which La R. himself quotes immediately afterwards. But it is characteristic that he quotes Syr. wrongly; it has ΟΣΣΕΚΛΑΤΨΕ, and therefore cannot be quoted for *ὅσσε κάλυψε* as against *ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψε*. A worse case is K 57 *κείνῳ γάρ κε μάλιστα πιθοίατο.* "*κείνου* ACDL: *κείνῳ* GH[1]. Heynius, qui *κείνου* in textu habet, *κείνῳ* non commemorat." This statement is simply unpardonable in face of the fact that Heyne has the following note (vol. vi. p. 18) "57. *κείνου γάρ κε μάλιστα πυθοίατο. κείνῳ—πιθοίατο.* Cant. Barocc. Mori. un. Vindob. In Ven. expressum *κείνου—πιθοίατο*, sic et Lips. is tamen habuit *ι* in rasura. v. Ern." followed by six lines of remark on the constr. of *πιθέσθαι* with dat. If these things are done in printed books, how shall we trust collations? And in fact a comparison of readings quoted by Hoffmann and La Roche on Φ and X reveals such continual contradictions as to entirely destroy our faith in one scholar or the other—we can make our choice with little doubt.

In view of facts of this gravity it is of less importance that misprints should swarm from end to end of La Roche's book, or that he should have piled up his materials in a fashion which makes the effort to get at important facts a serious labour. Thus he records every occasion—sometimes twice in a line—on which the scribe of L gives *τρῶες* for *τρῶες*, or D writes *φᾶτο* for *φάτο*; though in really serious matters he can be convicted from his own mouth of glaring omissions. For instance in his *Hom. Textkritik*, p. 475, he says in speaking of Cant. "nach B 866 folgt der schlechte Vers, den schon Strabo gerügt hat, *τμώλῳ ὑπὸ νιφόεντι ὕδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ*." Of this there is not a word in the critical edition, so far as Cant. is concerned, though it is duly quoted from Strabo. Of any arrangement by classes there is not a sign; his edition does not even explain the meaning of the signs by which he denotes his MSS, though I believe he has published something of the sort in the inaccessible Teubner's *Mittheilungen*. This inform-

[1] La R. does not give a full stop here, but the sense evidently requires it.

ation I have only obtained from the almost equally unfathomable work on NΞO by Dr Benicken (p. 895, *note*), who himself had to go personally to La R. for an elucidation of the mysterious "H′" quoted on N 89—154.

Unfortunately La Roche's edition has been blindly accepted by all following critics; Nauck, Christ and Rzach have all been content to follow it. It has thus had the unlucky result of frightening others off the ground, and has most disastrously retarded any further progress. It has the one merit of being fuller than any other apparatus; and this may at least help us to clear the ground for a fresh start. I venture to assume that, though no single statement can be relied on, yet by taking the readings in mass, errors will be partially eliminated, and we shall be able to arrive at certain broad results, a useful "first approximation" like that which the astronomer obtains by neglecting small quantities beyond the first order of magnitude. By examining certain classes of readings of MSS which are quoted by La Roche throughout the Iliad, we may gain some idea of the importance of the MSS themselves, and obtain a practical rule which may be of assistance in producing a new edition more adequate to the wants of the day. But before proceeding to this, we may briefly ask what it is that we have still to expect from MS testimony.

It seems clear that as early as the time of Plato at least the vulgate had already established itself, and was represented, or at least supposed to be represented, by the large majority of MSS then existing. This was no doubt a commercial text, and emanated from Athens, the head-quarters of the Greek publishing trade. Differences had of course crept in, in part merely orthographical, in part due to confusion between similar passages, in part mere copyists' blunders, often leading to conjectural emendations in the hands of would-be editors too idle to collate other authorities. It further seems clear, though in some quarters active and even virulent opponents still attack the view, that Aristarchos took this vulgate as the base of his edition, and corrected it by comparison with various MSS which contained different traditions, thus forming a purely eclectic text. Again, it can hardly be doubted

that the vulgate of his day was substantially the vulgate of ours; the text of the Harris papyrus, which is well within 200, possibly within 100, years of Aristarchos' time, is virtually identical with that of any second-class MS in the libraries of Europe to-day, and the Bankes and Petrie papyri, the Ambrosian fragments, and the Syrian palimpsest bring the tradition down with reasonable continuity nearly to Eustathios and our old medieval codices. Equally certain is it that the Aristarchean recension left practically no traces upon the commercial text; indeed it was almost forgotten by the time of Didymos, and but for him would doubtless have perished at the beginning of our era. Even A, though distinctly a learned and not a commercial production, has as we shall see later a vulgate text, and has adopted but a small portion of the Aristarchean variants preserved in its margin[1].

Now as we can hardly hope to find any MSS of a class more ancient than, and unknown to, Aristarchos, it is evident that, possessing the vulgate of his day, the best we can reasonably expect is that we might have among our existing MSS some representing one or more of the non-commercial traditions which he used as collateral authorities for the construction of his text. We already possess, through Didymos and Aristonikos, a considerable number of variants which give us a good idea of the extent of divergence among his authorities; and these variants, even when not accepted by him, do something to put us in his position and allow us an independent judgment on his materials. So far they are recognized as superior in value to any evidence dated A.D. But there is not a sufficient quantity of them. If then we could find extant MSS which could be traced to a non-commercial tradition of the date of Aristarchos, they would naturally take the highest place. In comparison with these, collation of the representatives of the vulgate would sink into insignificance; as indeed it should be in any case, for, as will be seen, all such MSS hitherto collated have done but infinitely little towards the improvement of the text as it existed 300 years ago.

[1] See the *Einleitung* to Ludwich, *Aristarch's Hom. Textkritik*, especially pp. 8—15.

One thing must be remembered; that should such MSS be discovered, they will not present any startling divergencies. Even the best of Aristarchos' authorities differed but little —in the case of any other classical author we should say absurdly little—from the *receptus;* and as any survivors will be in a very small minority it is pretty certain that the tradition will not have been kept pure, but that a process of contamination with the vulgate will to some extent at least have been going on in the course of centuries. Thus any remaining sign of independent descent will carry greatly increased weight.

We may now begin our examination of La Roche's material. For the purpose of comparison, as well as to eliminate error so far as possible by covering the greatest possible extent of ground, it is essential that we should take only the MSS which he has himself collated for the whole of the Iliad. Of these A stands by itself, and does not enter into the comparison, having to be judged on independent grounds. We therefore postpone it for the present. Those with which we have to deal are CDG HLS[1]. For an account of these reference may be made to La Roche's *Hom. Textkritik* pp. 460—478, where they appear under the numbers 14, 15, 92, 95, 105, 111 respectively. Of C, D, H and L better and fuller accounts will be found in Hoffmann under the titles La Lb Vc and Vq, pp. 28—45. Repetition here is needless, as we are concerned solely with internal evidence; it must only be mentioned that in D books A—Δ are rewritten by the second hand, the original ink having faded. Of this La Roche gives no hint in his edition.

These six MSS we shall examine for peculiarities only—readings in which each one differs from all others fully quoted by La Roche. This is evidently the only method by which a special strain of tradition, if such exist, can be discovered. It is subject however to two reservations. In the first place four of the MSS have twin-codices, so closely related that common origin is certain. The relation of L and Lips.[2] has

[1] La R. also quotes the text of Eustathios throughout as E. This I neglect, as I presume he only follows the printed edition.

[2] In the last eight books, see below.

already been mentioned as indicated by Hoffmann; a very superficial examination shews that an equally intimate connexion exists between G, Barocc. and Mori, and, in the last twelve books, between H and Vrat. d, the latter containing only N—Ω. S and Cant. are still more nearly related; indeed it seems pretty clear to me that Cant. is itself the original from which S was copied. Thus any reading which is common to two members of one of these groups will be regarded as a peculiar reading of the first member; while in the case of the Leipzig group the peculiar readings of Lips. are added, even if not shared by L, as giving evidence of the common original.

In the second place it must be remembered that many MSS appear only very irregularly in La Roche's pages; sometimes because they are themselves fragments, sometimes because only fragmentary collations or a few selected readings from them have been published and copied by La Roche. It is evident that variants which would have been peculiarities but for the agreement of one of these fragmentary collations must still be regarded as peculiarities, or the value of our test, which is to compare the fully quoted MSS, would be lost. At the same time it must be admitted that it has not been altogether easy to decide in every case how far readings found in what may be called the "outside" MSS should be admitted among the peculiarities; I have endeavoured to be as exclusive as is consistent with fairness, but no doubt some of the admissions may seem arbitrary. This however is of the less importance as we do not profess to aim at more than a first approximation, and I trust at least that my own errors will be of a smaller order than those inherent in the faultiness of the material.

The readings given are naturally confined to such as *are* readings, not itacistic variations or obvious blunders. I have endeavoured to exclude all extraneous sources of error, such as the continual variation between δέ τε γε κε, τοι and σοι, and a few similar cases; these serve only to illustrate the habits and knowledge of the scribe, not to give a real tradition. For the same reason no notice is taken of variation in the division of words, which is a matter of interpretation only; and alterations by later hands are entirely neglected. Of course, if any of the

MSS with which we have to deal were written with the learning and accuracy of A such details would be worth considering; as it is we must base our judgment on wider grounds. In very few cases have I mentioned obviously wrong readings because they seemed to have arisen from, or to indicate, a real variant.

The readings are in all cases arranged under three heads; (1) readings stated by Didymos and Aristonikos to be ancient—these may be again divided into (1 A) readings adopted by Zenodotos, Aristophanes or Aristarchos, (1 B) those only mentioned by, or inferred from statements of, Did. and Ariston.; (2) readings which can on other grounds be taken to be ancient variants; (3) readings peculiar to the MS in question, and not attested by any other authority. (1) needs no comment. For (2) the evidence is various, and not of equal weight in all cases. Express quotations from older authorities by Eustathios come under this head; but his more general statements, and those of the later scholiasts, evidently carry far less weight. An important class of evidence is given by the variants in A which are not Aristarchean, notably those beginning with γράφεται and ἐν ἄλλῳ, for which see Ludwich *Ar.* i. pp. 147 ff. Some of these are undoubtedly ancient, and as a whole they may be I think taken as due to a collation of A with a text independent of our vulgate, and therefore adequate evidence for the purpose in hand. The least weighty of the testimony given under (2) is afforded by old quotations, whether in the text of classical authors or in scholiasts and grammarians.

The third heading contains the unknown quantities to be evaluated. The weight of the readings given by each MS will vary according to the evidence afforded by (1) and (2) of the presence or absence of a distinct ancient tradition. The more really old and good readings a MS has, the less likely it is that a variant otherwise unknown is due to the error or caprice of scribes or editors.

In the following list it is expressly to be understood that a reading attributed to a MS is not quoted from any other *by La Roche*, who alone is taken into account. The whole paper is meant to be only a preliminary to any fresh collation, and none therefore has been made for it. A few readings quoted from

Hoffmann are enclosed in square brackets, and are not used for purposes of comparison. We take the MSS in La Roche's order.

C (Laurentianus A, xxxii. 3, no. 14 in La R. *Hom. Textkr.* p. 460; Hoffmann, pp. 28—30).

(1 A) A 198 *ὁρῆτο* with Zen. for *ὁρᾶτο*. Υ 77 *μάλιστά ἑ* (and B, Mosc. 2) with Ar.; *cet. μάλιστά γε*.

(1 B) I 167 *ἐγών* for *ἐγώ*: *Ἀρίσταρχος ἐγώ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐγών*, Did. X 388 *ζωὸς ἐν Ἀργείοισι φιλοπτολέμοισι μετείω* (with B, Vratt. b, A), and so *ἔν τισι*, Did. Ψ 61 *κλύζεσκεν* (with Harl.) for *-ον*: *διχῶς* Did. A has *ε* over *ο*.

(2) Δ 319 *κατέκτον* for *κατέκταν* (A has *κατέκταν* with *ο* over *α*). The schol. of Herod. probably refers to this. (Π 474 *αὐτοῖσι* for *αὐτῇσι*, cited by Eust. and gramm., is itacistic.) Ψ 875 *μέσσης* for *μέσσην* (and Harl. Mosc. 2); *μέσσης ἡ μέσσην*, Eust.

(3) Unattested variants will be found in A 423, Θ 79, K 19, 118, 162, 351, M 63, 325, Ξ 98, Π 188, 351, 523 (and Harl.), 738, P 397, 423, 518, 659—60 (and Mor. Bar.). Φ 124 (line added), 125, 158, X 162, 370 (and B), 378, Ψ 373, 393 (and Vr. b), 627 (and Vr. d), 846, 875 (and Harl. Mosc. 2), Ω 390. Hardly any of these are of sufficient importance to require setting out; the most interesting are *πρὸ φάος δε* Π 188 for *πρὸ φόως δε*, *οἵ κέ ἑ θηήσαντο* X 370 for *οἳ καὶ θηήσαντο* (also conj. by G. Hermann), *ἡ δέ ἑλισσομένη* Ψ 846 for *ἡ δέ θ' ἑλισσομένη* (if however *δέ* is right, as La R. gives it, it probably means that the omission of *θ'* was not intentional).

D (Laur. B, xxxii. 15; no. 15 in *H. Textkr.* p. 460; A—Δ by a second hand).

(1 A) A 86 *Κάλχα* with Zen. for *Κάλχαν*. Γ 211 *ἑζομένων* with Zen. for *ἑζομένω*. (Δ 196—7 om. D; they were obelized by Ar.) I 112 *πεπίθωμεν* with Ar. for *πεπίθοιμεν* (A has *ω* interlined). I 236 *σφι* for *σφιν*: *τὸ σφί δίχα τοῦ ν*, T[1]. N 485 *ὁμηλικίην* with Zen. for *ὁμηλικίη* or *-ίῃ*. O 232 *τόφρ'* for *ὄφρ'* with Ar. O 459 *μάχην* for *μάχης*, with Aristoph. O 563

[1] T = Townley Scholia. The publication of Maass' edition enables me to substitute their authority throughout in place of V.

om. δ' with Ar. Ψ 879 *λίασσεν* with Ar. for *λίασθεν*. Ω 701 *ἑστεῶτ'* for *ἑσταότ'* with Ar.

(1 B) B 163 *μετά* for *κατά*: implied by Did. *οὕτως κατὰ λαὸν συμφώνως εἶχον ἅπασαι*. K 413 = 427 *ἀγορεύσω* (and Townl. in 413); *cet. καταλέξω*. *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγορεύσω*, Did. X 48 *οὕς* (and Vr. A) for *τούς*. *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τοῦ τ, ἄλλοι δὲ οὕς μοι*, Did. Ψ 679 *Θήβας* for *Θήβας δ'*. *οὕτως Θήβας δέ, εἰς Θήβας*, Did. Quoted without δ' by Eust. and Aristonikos. Ψ 721 *ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί* (with Syr.) for *-δας Ἀχαιούς*: mentioned as a variant by Aristonikos.

(2) I 170 *ἐπέσθω* for *ἐπέσθων*. *γρ. καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ν*, Schol. A. K 41 *εἴη* for *ἔσται*: so Eust. and A interlined. Λ 132 *ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρός* (and Mosc. 3); *cet. ἐν Ἀντιμάχοιο δόμοις*. *γρ. ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρός*, Eust. Λ 151 *ἱππῆες* for *ἱππεῖς*, and so quoted by Schol. A (Nikanor) on 153: an unmetrical reading, but possibly arising from a real variant as conj. by Lehrs. (T 136 *ἦν* (and fr. Mosc.) for *ἦ*; so Eust., but not as ancient.) Φ 18 *ἔνθορε* for *ἔσθορε*: *γρ. καὶ ἔνθορε*, A. Φ 217 *ῥέζειν*, for *ῥέζε*. *ῥέζειν ἤγουν ῥέζε* Eust. Ψ 147 *παραυτίκα* for *παρ' αὐτόθι*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ παραυτίκα*, A. (Ψ 198 *ἐσσεύοντο* for *ἐσσεύαιτο*, given as a variant in T, but probably corruptly.) Ψ 856 *φέρεσθαι* for *φερέσθω*: *φέρεσθαι ἢ φερέσθω* Eust. Ω 81 *ἐμμεμαυῖα* for *ἐμβεβαυῖα*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐμμεμαυῖα* A, and so quoted in Plat. *Ion*, 538 D. Ω 150 *ἥ κε* (and Townl.) for *ἠδέ*: *γρ. ἥ κε*, A. Ω 253 *κατηφέες* for *κατηφόνες*: so Krates. Ω 413 *ἦδε* for *ἠώς*; *ἠὼς ἡ ἥδε*, Eust. *ηδη* Pap. Ω 436 *γένοιτο* for *γένηται* and so Eust. and Pap.

(3) E 452 *στήθεσφι* (and Vr. b) for *στήθεσσι*. E 641 *οἴησιν νηυσὶ* (and Mosc. 1) for *οἴης σὺν νηυσὶ* (itacism?). Z 349 *διετεκμήραντο* for *κακὰ τεκμήραντο*. Θ 108 *Αἰνεία(ο)* for *Αἰνείαν*. M 198 *ῥῆξαι...ἐνιπρῆσαι* for *ῥήξειν...ἐνιπρήσειν*. Ξ 221 *φρεσὶν ᾗσι* for *φρεσὶ σῇσι*. Π 129 a line added (also in Vr. A). Π 411 *ἐπεσσύμενος* for *-ον* (A has *σ* interlined over *ν*). Π 640 *εἴρυτο* for *εἴλυτο*. T 30 *ἀλαλκέμεν* for *-εῖν* (and Bar.). Ψ 88 *νήπιον* for *-ος* (and Vr. d). Ψ 248 *δεύτερον* for *δεύτεροι*. Ψ 803 *ἑλόντων* for *ἑλόντε* (omitting 804 with A and Vr. A). Ω 521 *δέ οἱ* for *νύ τοι*. Ω 636 *κοιμηθέντε* for *-τες* (and Pap.). Ω 764 *τροίην* for *τροίην δ'*.

Several of these readings are of importance, or at least are worthy of consideration; e.g. E 452, 641, Θ 108, Ξ 221, T 30, Ω 636.

G (Vindob. 39; La R. *Hom. Textkr.* p. 472, no. 92); generally agreeing with *Mori* (for which see *Journ. Phil.* xiii. 215), and *Bar.* (*H. T.* no. 63, p. 467).

(1 A) A 203 ἴδῃς with Zen.; *cet.* ἴδῃ with Ar. Z 128 κατ' οὐρανὸν with Ar. for οὐρανοῦ. H 95 νεικε' ὀνειδίζων for νείκει: ἔν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων νείκε' ὀνειδίζων ἔξω τοῦ ι, Did. Θ 559 δὲ εἴδεται with Ar. for δέ τ' εἴδεται. K 306 ἄριστοι ἔωσι with Ar. for ἀριστεύωσι (but ἄριστοι ἔασι L). Λ 86 δόρπον for δεῖπνον with Zen. Λ 94 ἀντίον for ἀντίος with Zen. N 28 ἠγνοίησαν with Ar. for ἠγνοίησεν (A with *a* above ε).

(1 B) H 64 αὐτοῦ for αὐτῆς or αὐτῇ: ἄλλοι δὲ πάντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Did. Θ 340 ἑλισσόμενος for -νον (and Vr. c, A); οὕτω διὰ τοῦ ν ἑλισσόμενον, Did. K 449 ἀπολύσομαι ἠὲ μεθῶμαι for ἀπολύσομεν ἠὲ μεθῶμεν: implied in Sch. T, πληθυντικῶς. N 541 Αἰνείας δ' for ἔνθ' Αἰνέας: so ἔνιοι acc. to Didymos. O 621 αὐτῇ for αὐτήν, or ἀκτήν (and Vr. b, d, A): οὕτως αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ ν Ἀρίσταρχος, Did. T 393 ζεύγνυσαν for ζεύγνυον: οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ο ζεύγνυον, Did.; implying a variant.

(2) B 370 μήν for μάν, and so Eust. and quot. in *Rhet. Gr.* B 426 ἐμπείραντες for ἀμπείραντες, and so Eust. and Schol. B on A 591. B 456 κορυφῇ for κορυφῆς and so Eust. 243, 45. Δ 512 μήν for μάν, with Eust. H 290 παύσωμεν πόλεμον καὶ δηιοτῆτα for παυσώμεσθα μάχης καὶ δηιοτῆτος (and Harl. Townl.); and so ἐν ἄλλῳ, A. Θ 64 ἔνθ' ἅμα for ἔνθα δ' ἅμ'; so quoted by Ammon. *de Diff. s.v.* ἅμα. I 503 ὀφθαλμούς for ὀφθαλμώ or -ῶν; τὸ δὲ παραβλῶπες ὀφθαλμώ, ἤγουν ὀφθαλμούς, τέτριπται πλέον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. (K 66 ἐρχόμενοι for ἐρχομένω: ἐρχομένω ἤγουν ἐρχόμενοι Eust.—hardly a variant.) K 115 νεμεσήσεται for -εαι; γρ. νεμεσήσεται, A. Π 719 Φρυγίην for Φρυγίῃ, so quoted Strabo xiii. 590. Φ 105 συμπάντων for καὶ πάντων: γρ. καὶ συμπάντων, A. Φ 106 αὖτως, for οὕτως, and so E and Diog. Laert.

(3) A 239 ὅρκος ἐσεῖται for ἔσσεται ὅρκος. A 338 μάρτυρες for μάρτυροι. B 49 φάος for φόως. B 378 χαλεπαίνειν

for *-ων*. B 396[1]. B 475. B 534 *τῶν* for *τῷ*. B 661 *τράφη ἐν* (v. La R. *ad loc.*). B 732. B 797. B 842 *ὄζω* for *ὄζος*. Γ 10 *ὥς τ' ὄρεος* for *εὖτ' ὄρεος*. Δ 536 *οἵ γ'* for *τώ γ'*. E 740 *δ' ὀκρυόεσσα* for *δὲ κρυόεσσα*. E 772. Z 47 *κεῖνται* for *κεῖται*. Z 148 *ὅτε γίνεται* for *ἐπιγίγνεται*. Z 418 *κατέθηκε* for *κατέκηε*. H 25. H 215. H 230 *κεῖται μηνίσας* for *κεῖτ' ἀπομηνίσας*. H 285. H 302. Θ 373 *ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' αὖτε* for *ἔσται μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὖτε*. Θ 379. Θ 415 (line added). Θ 420 *ᾧ* for *σῷ*. Θ 541 *κακά* for *κακόν*. I 116. I 470. I 619 *ἠὲ* for *ἦ κε* (and Cant.). I 644. I 646 *ἐκείνου* for *ἐκείνων*. K 188. K 413. K 526 *ἵκοντο* for *ἵκανον*. Λ 210 *ἀπεβήσατο μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον* for *ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις*. Λ 607. Λ 712 *Ἀλφειοῦ* for *Ἀλφειῷ*. Λ 773 and 776 *βοῶν* for *βοός*. Λ 797 *ἦν πού τι...γένηται* for *αἴ κέν τι...γένηαι*. Λ 832 *δικαιότερος* for *δικαιότατος*. M 76. N 232. N 236. N 245 *στήθεσφι* for *στήθεσσι*. N 290 *στέρνοιο* (i.e. *στέρνοι'*) for *στέρνων*. Ξ 388 *ἐκόσμεε* for *ἐκόσμει*. O 316 *καλόν* for *λευκόν*. O 743 *κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας ἄγοιτο* for *κοίλῃς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ φέροιτο*. Π 720. Π 824. Π 825 *πινέμεν* for *πιέμεν*. P 181 *μέγα* for *μάλα*. P 395. P 420 *ὥδε δέ τις* for *ὥς δέ τις αὖ*. P 653. P 668. P 729 *ἄλλοι* for *ἄλλος*. Σ 405 *ἔσαν* for *ἴσαν*. Σ 611 *κυνέην* for *κόρυθα*. Υ 332 *ἀέκητι* for *ἀτέοντα*. Φ 18 *ἔκθορε* for *ἔνθορε* or *ἔσθορε* (*γρ. καὶ ἔκθορε* Townl.). Φ 234 *ἀπαΐσσων* for *ἀπαΐξας*. Φ 541 *καρφαλέοι* (and Vr. A) for *καρχαλέοι*. Φ 603 *στρέψας* for *τρέψας*. Ψ 649 *Ἀχαιούς* for *Ἀχαιοῖς*. Ω 434 *Ἀχιλ(λ)ῆος ἔχεσθαι* for *Ἀχιλῆα δέχεσθαι*. Ω 679 *Ἑρμείην* for *Ἑρμείαν*.

H (Vindobon. cxvii, La R. *H. T.* no. 95, p. 473, Hoffmann, p. 33), grouped with Vrat. d, which contains only N—Ω (*H. T.* no. 74, p. 469).

(1 A) Γ 193 *κεφαλήν* with Ar. for *κεφαλῇ*. Ξ 382 *δόσκον* and so Ar., for *δόσκεν* (see Ludwich, *Ar.* i. p. 378). O 138 *ἑοῖο* (and so *γρ.* L) with Zen. for *ἑῆος*. (O 467 *ἐν ἄλλῳ ὦ πέπον*, with Zen.? see on P 171.) O 694 *ὦσεν* for *ὦρσεν*, with Ar. Π 710 *τυτθόν* for *πολλόν*, with Zen. Σ 14 *ἀψ ἐπὶ νῆας*

[1] Where the reference only is given the variant is unimportant.

ἴμεν with Ar. for νῆας ἐπ' ἄψ ἰέναι. Φ 446 πόλει for πόλιν, with Aristoph. Ψ 635 πάλην for πάλῃ, with Ar.

(1 B) Θ 191 αἴ κε for ὄφρα. ὄφρα· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ αἴ κε λάβωμεν, Did. N 115 ἀκεσταί τε for τοι: ἔν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων διὰ τοῦ τε ἀκεσταί τε, Did. N 289 οὔ κεν for οὐκ ἄν: οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος οὐκ ἄν διὰ τοῦ α, αἱ δὲ κοιναὶ οὔ κεν, Did. N 446 τί σ' for τι (with Townl.): Ar. τι χωρὶς τοῦ σ, Did. N 613 ἀφίκοντο for ἐφίκοντο. ἐφίκοντο. οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, Did. For ἀφίκοντο as variant see Ludwich, *Ar.* i. p. 363. Ψ 137 ἄιδος δῶ for ἄιδός δε (and Syr. Vr. b): οὕτως ἄιδός δε, οὐκ ἄιδος δῶ, Did.

(2) Γ 240 δεῦρο for δεύρω: so Eust. and gramm. quoted by La R. Θ 518 πρωθήβους for -ας; so Zon. Lex. Λ 381 ὀλέσσαι for ἐλέσθαι. ὀλέσαι ἢ μᾶλλον ἑλέσθαι, Eust. Λ 641 ἐκέλευεν for ἐκέλευσεν, and so quoted by Athen. M 160 ἀύτεον for ἀύτευν: ἀύτευν ἤγουν ἀύτεον, Eust. N 331 μαρμαίροντας for δαιδαλέοισι: so ἐν ἄλλῳ, A. (O 621 ἀκτὴν man. 2: see on this line under G.) O 639 ἀέθλων for ἄνακτος (and frag. Mosc.): so A in margin, Eust. expressly mentions the διττὴ γραφή. Π 207 ταῦθ' ἅμ' (with Syr.) for ταῦτά μ': and so Hermias acc. to Herod. Π 736 χάζετο for ἄζετο: so Eust. Υ 2 ἀκόρητοι (and Vrat. A) for ἀκόρητον: mentioned by Nikanor. Υ 143 ἀναγκαίηφι for ἀνάγκῃ ἴφι, and so γρ. A. Φ 101 τόφρα δέ μοι for τόφρα τί μοι, so ἐν ἄλλῳ τόφρα δέ μοι, A. (Φ 281 ὀλέσθαι for ἁλῶναι, and so Dem., Ixion read in the identical ε 312.) Ψ 539 ἠδ' ἐκέλευον for ὡς ἐκέλευεν (and Syr. Vrat. A): ἐν ἄλλῳ ἠδὲ κέλευον, A.

(3) B 579. Γ 112 εὐχόμενοι for ἐλπόμενοι. Γ 297. Δ 280 Αἰάντεσσιν ἀρηιθόων for Αἰάντεσσι διοτρεφέων. Δ 361 μήδεα for δήνεα. E 802 πολεμιζέμεν for -ειν. Z 111. Z 300. Z 321 μεγάροις for θαλάμῳ. H 3. H 109 χρεώ for χρή. H 154. Θ 270 ὄλεσκεν for ὄλεσσεν. I 191. I 295 κέαται for νέαται, "ut videtur ex corr." La R. I 535 ῥέξ' for ἔρξ' (ἔρεξ' of rest. I 558 τράφεν for γένετ'. K 115 νεικέω for νεικέσω. Λ 170 ἵκανον for ἵκοντο. Λ 339 οὐδέ οἱ for οὐ γάρ οἱ. Λ 380 βέβλη' for βέβληαι. Λ 454 μακρά for πυκνά. Λ 618. M 277. M 350 ἅμα σπέσθω (and Syr.) for ἅμ' ἑσπέσθω. N 276. N 366. N 369 πεποιθώς for πιθήσας. Ξ 122 ἀφνειός for ἀφνειόν

Ξ 465. Ξ 484 *καί τέ τις* for *καί κέ τις*. Ο 491. Ο 522. Ο 543 *ἰεμένῳ* for *ἰεμένη*. Π 35 *πέτραι τ'* for *πέτραι δ'*. Π 120. Π 304 *ἐφέβοντο* for *φοβέοντο*. Π 519 *ὕπερθε* for *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*. Ρ 251 *λαῶν* for *λαοῖς*. Ρ 256 *ὣς φάτο τοῦ δ' ἤκουσεν*, for *ὣς ἔφατ', ὀξὺ δ' ἄκουσεν*. Ρ 496 *ἐλέειν* for *ἐλάαν*. Ρ 530 *ὡρμήθησαν* for *ὁ(ὠ)ρμηθήτην*. Ρ 531 *μεμαῶτας* for *μεμαῶτε*. Σ 62. Σ 367. Σ 606 *ἐξάρχοντε* for *ἐξάρχοντες*. Τ 305. Χ 195. Χ 197 *ἀποτρέψασκε* (and Syr.) for *ἀποστρέψασκε*. Χ 205. Χ 219. Χ 254 *ἐπιδωσόμεθ' οἱ* for *ἐπιδώμεθα τοί*. Χ 257 *δώσει* for *δώῃ*. Χ 340 *δέχεσθαι* for *δέδεξο*. Χ 355. Ψ 186 *χρεῖσεν* for *χρῖεν*. Ψ 693 *θῖν' ἐπὶ φυκιόεντα* for *θίν' ἐν φυκιόεντι*. Ω 6 *ἀδροτῆτα* for *ἀνδροτῆτα*.

S (Stuttgartensis 5; La R. *H. T.* no. 111, p. 478) and Cant. (*H. T.* no. 102, p. 474. It is strange that La R. does not notice the peculiarly intimate relation between these two; he says that the text of Cant. "stimmt am meisten mit dem Vrat. b und Mosc. 1 überein.")

(1 A) Β 798 *ἤδη μέν* (and Vrat. b) with Ar. for *ἦ μὲν δή*. Δ 277 *ἰόντι* (and M) with Zen. for *ἐόντι*. (Ζ 266 *ἀνίπτῃσιν* with Zen. for *ἀνίπτοισιν*, itacism?) Η 12 *λύντο* with Ar. for *λῦσε*. Η 259 *χαλκός* (and Townl.) with Ar. for *χαλκόν*. Ι 18 *μέγας* with Ar. for *μέγα*. Ν 60 *κεκοφώς* for *κεκοπώς*: Ar. *διχῶς*. Ν 447 *αὔτως* with Zen. for *οὕτως*. Σ 182 *τ' ἄρ* for *γάρ*: *ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἀριστάρχου διὰ τοῦ τ, "τίς τάρ σε"*, Did. Υ 28 *τι* for *τε* with Ar. Υ 195 *νῦν ἐρύεσθαι* for *νῦν σε ῥύεσθαι*: *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος ἐρύεσθαι χωρὶς τοῦ σε*, Did. Φ 303 *ἴσχεν* with Ar. for *ἔσχεν*.

(1 B) Ε 272 *μήστωρι* for *μήστωρε*: *Ἀρ. δυικῶς μήστωρε*, Did. Ν 190 *ἀκόντισε* for *ὀρέξατο*. *τινὲς δὲ ἀκόντισε*, Schol. T. Ν 415 *ἐόντα* for *ἰόντα*, implied in *ἰόντα διὰ τοῦ ι αἱ Ἀριστάρχου*, Did. Ο 64 *ἀνστήσειεν* for *ἀνστήσει ὅν*: *τινὲς ἀνστήσειεν*, Did. Ο 211 *μέν κε* for *μέν γε*: mentioned by Did. Ο 469 *εὐστροφον* for *νεόστροφον*. *εὕρομεν δὲ καὶ εὐστροφον γεγραμμένον*, Did. Π 354 *διέτμαγον* for *διέτμαγεν*: *οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ε διέτμαγεν*, Did. (Ρ 481 *βοῇ θόον*, and A, Vrat. A, for *βοηθόον*: so *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς σχολῆς*, Schol. T.) Τ 92 *τῆς* for *τῇ*. *τῇ· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ τῆς μέν θ' ἁπαλοί*, Did.

(2) E 872 *ἔργ' ἀίδηλα* (and N) for *καρτερὰ ἔργα*. *γρ. ἔργ' ἀΐδηλα* Schol. T. E 909 *Ἄρη'* for *Ἄρην*, implied in *οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός φησι μετὰ τοῦ ν Ἄρην*. Z 62 *ἀπαί* for *ἀπό*. *τινὲς μεταγράφουσιν ἀπαὶ ἔθεν*, Eust. Z 343 *ἀμείβετο δῖα γυναικῶν* for *προσηύδα μειλιχίοισι*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ προσηύδα δῖα γυναικῶν*, A. I 67 *περί* for *παρά*. *γρ. καὶ περιτάφρον* A. I 394 *δή* for *θήν*. and so Eust. M 208 *ὄπφιν* for *ὄφιν*. *ἄλλοι δὲ ὄπφιν μετέγραψαν* Eust. M 243 *ἀμύνασθαι* for *ἀμύνεσθαι* with Eust. O 92 *βοῶπις πότνια* for *θεὰ λευκώλενος*. *ἐν ἄλλῳ βοῶπις πότνια* A. O 134 *πῆμα* for *πᾶσι*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ πῆμα φυτεῦσαι* A. X 357 *ἔνδοθι* for *ἐν φρεσί*, and so Eust. Ψ 362 *ἵπποισι* (and Vrat. A) for *ἵπποιιν*: so Et. Gud. and Eust. Ψ 475 *δίωνται* for *δίενται*. A has *ω* written over *ε*, and Herodianos has *δίωνται ὡς λάβωνται*. Ψ 523 *δίσκου οὖρα* for *δίσκουρα*. This Eust. mentions as written by the ancients: see also Schol. A. Ω 526 *ἀχνυμένους* for *-οις*; so Eust. Et. Mag. Stob.

(3) B 114 *ἄτην* for *ἀπάτην*. B 217 *φορκός* for *φολκός*. B 433 *τοῖσι δέ* for *τοῖς ἄρα*. B 483 *εὐπρεπέ'* for *ἐκπρεπέ'*. B 602 *τῶν* for *τῷ*. B 647 (and 656). B 709 *δέ μιν* for *γε μέν*. (B 866 line added in Cant. acc. to La R. *H. T.* p. 475: see above.) Γ 98 *ἄμφω* for *ἤδη* (and Harl.). Γ 113. Γ 152 *ἑζόμενοι* for *ἐφεζόμενοι*. Γ 197. Γ 388. Δ 27 *ἵππῳ* for *ἵπποι*. Δ 181 *χερσί* for *νηυσί*. Δ 434 *ἑστήκωσι* (and N Vrat. b) for *ἑστήκασι*. Δ 463 *εἶλε* for *ἔλαβε*. E 252 *οὐδέ με* for *οὐδέ σε*. E 256. E 445. E 686 *οὐδ'* for *οὐκ*. E 848 *κεῖσθ' ὄθι μιν* for *κεῖσθαι ὅθι*. H 234, line from N 824 (and Vrat. A). H 346 *ἑστίῃσι* for *θύρῃσι*. H 458 *σοί* for *σόν*. Θ 4 *ἅμα* for *ὑπό*. Θ 296. Θ 419 *ἀπαλθησεσθαι* for *-σθον*. Θ 456 *ἴκεσθε* for *ἵκεσθον*. Θ 511 *ὁρμήσονται* for *-ωνται*. I 354 *ἵκοιτο* for *ἵκανεν*. I 451 *ἐμῶν* for *ἐμέ*. I 519. I 640. K 99. K 293. K 385 *τίφθ'* for *πῇ δή*. K 476 *τοὺς* for *τόν*. K 547 *ἐοικότας* m. 1 for *-τες*. K 557 *πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν* for *πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν*. Λ 107. Λ 283. Λ 796. M 264 *ἐόντας* for *ἰόντας*. M 324 *προμάχοισι* for *πρώτοισι*. M 374 *ἵκανον* for *ἵκοντο*. M 408 *καθαπτόμενος* for *ἐλιξάμενος*. N 306. (N 415 *κρυεροῖο* for *κρατεροῖο*, Cant.) N 741 *δὲ μάλα* for *δ' ἂν μάλα*. N 813. (Ξ 4 *μάχη* for *βοή*, Cant.) Ξ 239. Ξ 256. Ξ 269. Ξ 274 *Κρόνου* for *Κρόνον*. Ξ 281 *Λῆμνον, Ἴμβρον* for *Λήμνου, Ἴμβρου*. (Ξ 286 *ἆσσον ἱκέσθαι* for *ὅσσε ἰδέσθαι*, Cant.

and Vrat. A.) Ξ 364 *μεθίετε* (and Harl.) for *μεθίεμεν*. (Ξ 395 *πάντοθεν* for *ποντόθεν*, Cant.) *Βορέα* (i.e. *Βορέα'*) for *Βορέω*. Ξ 437. Ξ 472. Ξ 491. (Ο 116 *τίσεσθαι* for *τίσασθαι*, A has *ε* interlined.) Ο 203 *δή τοι* for *μέν τε*. Ο 204 *πρεσβυτάτοισιν* (and Vat.) for *πρεσβυτέροισι*. Ο 274. Ο 389 *χαλκόν* for *χαλκῷ* (and Ambr.). Ο 418 *ἑ* for *γε*. Ο 491. (Ο 648 *κροτάφοιο* Cant. for *κροτάφοισι*.) Π 31 *αἴν' ἀρετῇ* for *αἰναρέτη*. Π 111 *ἐμπνεῦσαι* for *ἀμπνεῦσαι*. Π 123 *ἄσβεστος* for *ἀσβέστη*. Π 170 *κλισίῃσιν* for *κληῖσιν*. Π 248. Π 394 *ἀπέκερσε* for *ἐπέκερσε*. Π 531 *ἄναξ* for *μέγας*. Π 560. Π 567. P 29. (P 86 *κατ' οὐταμένης ὠτειλῆς*, Cant. for *-ην, -ήν*.) P 201. P 234. P 249 *Ἀτρείδῃ...ποιμένι λαῶν* for *Ἀτρείδης...καὶ Μενελάῳ*. P 377 *πυθέσθην* for *πεπύσθην*. P 480 *ἐπιβήσομαι* (and A^2) for *ἀποβήσομαι*. P 564 *ἐπεβάσσατο* (? It is doubtful if La R. can distinguish between *μ* and *β*.) S and A^2 *ἐπεμάσσατο* Cant. m. 1, for *ἐσεμάσσατο*. (Σ 7 *ἐπικλονέουσι* Cant. for *ἔπι κλονέονται*.) (Σ 27 *φίλην δέ τε* Cant. for *φίλῃσι δέ*.) Σ 73. Σ 334 om. *γ'* (and Vr. A). Σ 388 *φωνήσασ' ἠγήσατο* (and Vat.) for *φωνήσασα πρόσω ἄγε*. Σ 493 *κατὰ* for *ἀνά*. Σ 501 *πεῖραν* for *πεῖραρ*. Σ 510. T 77. T 133 *πρὸς* (and A^2) for *ὑπ'*. Υ 60 *τεῖχος* for *νῆες*. Υ 119 *ἀποτροπόωμεν* for *ἀποτρωπῶμεν*. Υ 138 *ἰδέ* for *ἤ*. Υ 153. Υ 200. Υ 288. Φ 179 *ἀλλά ἑ πρίν* for *ἀλλὰ πρίν*. Φ 225 *ἐλάσαι* (and Harl.) for *ἔλσαι*. Φ 240 *ῥεῦμα* for *κῦμα*. X 143 *ὅ γε μεμαώς* for *ὅ γ' ἐμμεμαώς*. X 207 *ἄροιτο ἑλών* for *βαλών*. (X 275 *ἄζετο* Cant. for *ἔζετο*.) X 286 *ἐνί* for *ἐν*. X 484. Ψ 136 *σχέθε* (and Townl.) for *ἔσχε*. Ψ 323 *ἐγγύθι* for *ἐγγύθεν*. Ψ 333 *ποδώκης* for *ποδάρκης*. Ω 52 *οὐ* for *οἱ*. Ω 86 *φθίσθαι ἐνί* for *φθίσεσθ' ἐν*. Ω 139 *ἄροιτο* for *ἄγοιτο*. Ω 445 *ὄρουσε* (and A^2) for *ἔχευε*. Ω 595 *ἄν* for *αὖ*.

The Leipzig group (Hoffmann p. 60); L = Vindob. quintus (p. 40, La R. *H. T.* no. 105, p. 476); "Lips." is the Leipzig "linteus," containing only from P 90 to the end of the Iliad (Hoffmann p. 46, La R. *H. T.* no. 67, p. 468, Maass in *Hermes*, xix. 269). The earlier portion of the MS is in another hand as well as in another material; it is certainly also from an entirely different source, as is apparent from the fact that it never—or at most two or three times—agrees with L in a peculiar reading,

while the "linteus" and L rarely differ. Up to P 90 therefore no notice is taken of Lips., after that line L′ denotes the consensus of the two, no letter being given when the reading is that of L alone.

(1 A) Readings of *Zenodotos.* Γ 126 *πορφυρέην* (also Ar. and Aristoph.) for *μαρμαρέην.* Θ 526 *ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος* for *εὔχομαι ἐλπόμενος.* Θ 557—8 om. Μ 343 *Αἴαντε* (and Syr.) for *Αἴαντα* (but not in 342). (Ξ 118 *ἐμεῖο* for *ἐμοῖο*, itacism?) Σ 198 *αὐτός* L′ for *αὖτως* (so also Aristoph.).

Readings of *Aristophanes;* Η 238 *βοῦν* for *βῶν.* Λ 103 *ἐόντε* for *ἐόντας.* Ξ 44 *δείδια* for *δείδω.* Φ 127 *ὥς κε* L′ for *ὅς κε.*

Readings of *Aristarchos;* (Β 170 *ἑστῶτ'* for *ἑσταότ'*: Ar. read *ἑστεῶτ'* in the first foot). Β 192 *Ἀτρείωνος* for *Ἀτρεΐδαο*, and so Aristoph., Dion. Sidon., Ixion, *αἱ πλείους τῶν χαριεστέρων αἱ διορθώσεις καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα*, Did. Ε 787 *ἐλεγχέες* for *ἐλέγχεα. ἄριστοι* for *ἀγητοί* (Ar. had *ἀγητοί* and *ἄριστοι, διχῶς*). Θ 408 *κεν εἴπω* for *νοήσω.* Ι 88 *δόρπα* for *δόρπον.* Ι 472 *ἐν αἰθούσῃ* for *ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ* or *-ης.* Ι 564 *κλαῖεν ὅ μιν* for *κλαῖ' ὅτε μιν.* Ι 645 *ἐείσαο* for *ἐείσω*: *ἔν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων διῃρημένως ἐείσαο*, Did. Κ 431 *ἱππόμαχοι* for *ἱππόδαμοι.* Κ 445 *ἠέ* (and Eust.) for *ἤ ῥα.* Λ 144 and Μ 192 *οὐδας ἔρεισεν* for *οὔδει ἐρείσθη.* Μ 465 *οὔ κεν* for *οὐκ ἄν.* Ν 358 *τώ* for *τοί.* Ν 399 *ὃ ἀσθμαίνων* for *ὅ γ' ἀσθ.* Ν 449 *ἴδῃ* for *ἴδῃς.* Ξ 173 *κατά* for *ποτί.* Ξ 181 *ζώνῃ ἀραρυίῃ* for *ζώνην ἀραρυῖαν.* Ξ 235 *χάριν εἰδέω* for *εἰδέω* (*ἰδέω*) *χάριν*, attributed by Did. to *αἱ δημώδεις.* Ξ 418 *ὠκύ* for *ὦκα.* Π 668 *Σαρπηδόνι* for *Σαρπηδόνα.* (Π 707 *οὔ νύ τι πω* for *οὔ νύ τοι*: *οὔ νύ πω*, Ar.) Ρ 34 *ἦ τάχα*, as *ἔν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων* (Did.); *cet. ἦ μάλα.* Ρ 202 *εἶσι* L′ for *ἐστι* (also interlined in A). Σ 579 *δύω πρώτῃσι* L′, *ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου δύο πρώτῃσι*, Did.; *cet. δύ' ἐν πρώτῃσι* or *πρώτοισι.* Υ 263 *ῥέα* L′ for *ῥεῖα*: *Ἀρίσταρχος ἔξω τοῦ ι ῥέα*, Did. Φ 195 *οὔτε* L′ for *οὐδέ* (A has *τ* interlined). Φ 213 *βαθείης* L′ (acc. to Hoffmann) for *βαθέης δ'* (which Lips. has acc. to La Roche): *τὸ δὲ βαθέης χωρὶς τοῦ δ*, Did. Φ 433 *Ἴλιον* L for *Ἰλίου* was probably Ar.'s reading; see Did. on Β 133. *γρ. Ἴλιον*, A. Φ 455 *ἀπολεψέμεν* L′ for *ἀποκοψέμεν* (A has *ἀπολεψέμεν* in marg.).

Add also the following which are shared with imperfectly collated MSS; E 560 *ἐοικότε* L, Mosc. 1 for *ἐοικότες*. Ξ 322 *Μίνων* L, Vrat. d, for *Μίνω*. Τ 390 *πόρε* L′, Syr. (and A in marg.) for *τάμε, διχῶς* Did. (on Π 143). Υ 426 *ἄν* L, Harl. for *ἄρ*. Χ 468 *βάλε* L′, Paris. A, C for *χέε* (attributed to *αἱ κοιναί* by Did.).

(1 B) E 231 *εἰωθότε* for *εἰωθότι*. *οὕτως εἰωθότι καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες*, Did., implying *εἰωθότε* as variant. Θ 157 *φύγαδ' ἔτρεπε* for *φύγαδ' ἔτραπε*. *οὕτως διὰ τοῦ α τράπε αἱ Ἀριστάρχου*, Did. K 129 *οὔτις τοι* for *οὔτις οἱ*. *ἔξω τοῦ τ οὔτις οἱ*, Ar. (*οὔτις σοι* C, Townl.). M 11 *ἦεν* for *ἔπλε*. This must surely be the variant implied in *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος ἔπλε*, Did., not as La R. thinks *ἔπλεν*. (He is evidently right in rejecting the evidence of Schol. T, *Ἀρίσταρχος ἔπλεν σὺν τῷ ν, ἐκ τοῦ ἔπελεν συγκοπὴν δεχόμενος. Ζηνόδοτος ἔπλε, ἀποκοπῇ τοῦ ἔπλετο.*) M 68 *ἴετ' ἀρήγειν* for *βούλετ'*: *ἴετ' ἀρήγειν οὕτως πᾶσαι*, Did. (This should perhaps be included under the Aristarchean readings in (1).) M 86 *ἀρτύναντο* for *ἀρτύναντες*: no doubt the variant implied in *ἀρτύναντες· οὕτως ἡ γραφή*, T. N 287 *τεόν τε* for *τεόν γε*, implied in Did. *οὕτως διὰ τοῦ γε*. N 465 *ἐπαμυνέμεν* for *ἐπαμύνομεν*. This is doubtless implied by Did. *οὕτως σχεδὸν ἅπασαι ἐπαμύνομεν* (see Ludwich). Ξ 112 *νεώτερος* for *νεώτατος· οὕτω νεώτατος ὑπερθετικῶς ὡμολόγουν ἅπασαι*, Did. Φ 62 *κἀκεῖθεν* Lips. *κᾀκεῖθεν* L, Vrat. d for *καὶ κεῖθεν*: *ἐκ πλήρους τὸν καί σύνδεσμον Ἀρίσταρχος*, Did. [Φ 576 *φθάμενός τις* L′ for *φθάμενός μιν*. *αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων φθάμενός τις*, Sch. T. Not given by La R.] Ψ 854 *ὣς γάρ* for *ἦς ἄρ* (*ὡς ἄρ* Vrat. d): *γράφεται καὶ ὣς γάρ*, Did.: *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἦς γάρ*, A.

(2) B 43 *δ' αὖ* for *δέ*; so Drako *de Metr.* B 82 *ἐνὶ στρατῷ* for *Ἀχαιῶν*, so Eust. Γ 158 *ἐῴκει* for *ἔοικε*, with Eust. H 285 *οὗτος* (and Eust.) for *αὐτός*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ οὗτος γάρ*, A. Θ 60 *ἵκανον* for *ἵκοντο*: *γρ. ἵκανον* A and Mosc. 1. Θ 77 *ἥρει* for *εἷλεν*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ δέος ἥιρει*, A. Θ 416 *γυιώσει* for *γυιώσειν*: so Apoll. *de Synt.* (Θ 454 *καί κεν τετελεσμένον ἦεν* for *τὸ δέ κεν*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ καί κεν τετελεσμένον ἔπλεν* A, and so Townl.) I 215 *ἔθηκεν* for *ἔχευεν*. *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθηκεν*, A. I 359 *αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα* for *ἢν ἐθ.*, quoted with *αἴ κ'* in Plato *Hipp. Min.*

370 B. I 381 *οὐδ'* for *ἠδ'*, with Strabo, Pausanias, Eust.; *γρ.* A (but only in the first foot not in the fifth). I 512 *ἀποτίνῃ* for *ἀποτίσῃ*: *γρ. ἀποτίνῃ*, A. K 88 *εἴσεαι* for *γνώσεαι*, "quod si minus bene esset firmatum, non dubitarem glossema dicere, cf. Hes. *εἴσεαι· γνώσῃ*" La R.; *εἴσεαι τούτεστι γνώσῃ*, Eust. M 52 *χειλει ἑσταότες* for *χείλει ἐφεσταότες*. *χειλεῖ ἢ δισυλλάβως χείλει ἑσταότες, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ χείλει ἐφεσταότες*, Eust. M 87 *ἕκαστοι* for *ἕποντο*: so *τινές* read acc. to Nikanor. *γρ. ἕκαστος*, A. Ξ 62 *νόος γ' ἔρξει* for *νόος ῥέξει*. *ἄλλοι νόος γ' ἔρξει*, A. Ξ 101 *ἀποπαπτανέουσιν* for the extraordinary "mumpsimus" *ἀποπτανέουσιν* of the rest; Hesych. gives the right reading. Ξ 195 *ἄνώγει* (with *ν* over *ι*, and accent over *α* by man. 2) for *ἄνωγεν*. *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀνώγει*, A. Ξ 217 *φρονέοντος* (m. 1) for *φρονεύντων*: so quoted by Aristotle *Eth.* vii. 6. Ξ 295 *οἷος* for *οἷον*. *γρ. καὶ οἷος*, A. O 642 *παντοίην ἀρετήν* for *παντοίας ἀρετάς*. Eust. mentions both. Π 99 *νῶι* for *νῶιν*, and so also Eust. (Π 724 *ἔπεχε* for *ἔφεπε*: on 732, A has *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔπεχε*, and so L reads there also, with G.) P 21 *μάλιστα* for *μέγιστος*, so quoted by Pseudoplut. 138, 3. Σ 307 *πολέμου* for *πολέμοιο*, with Eust. T 72 *αἴ κε* for *ὅς κε*: *αἴ κε ἢ ὅς κε*, Eust. Υ 247 *ἑκατόνζυγος* L' for *ἑκατόζυγος*, so quoted by Schol. Pind. *P.* iv. 501. Φ 92 *ἔσσεαι* L' for *ἔσσεται*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ κακὸν ἔσσεαι*. A. Φ 242 *εἴα* L' for *εἶχε*: *γρ. καὶ εἶχε*, Schol. Par. and so Φ 271 *ὑπέριπτε* L' for *ὑπέρεπτε*: *γρ. καὶ ὑπέρεπτεν* Schol. Par., shewing that his text had *εἴα* and *ὑπέριπτε*. Φ 394, 421 *κυνόμυια* L' for *κυνάμυια*. *κατά τινας κυνόμυια*, Eust. (La R. quotes this for 421 only, but Hoffmann gives it for 394 also). Ψ 96 *ὥς με* for *ὡς σύ*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ ὥς με κελεύεις*, A. Ψ 628 *ἀπαΐσσονται* for *ἐπαΐσσονται*: Eust. quotes both. Ψ 694 *ἀνέπαλτο ἀτάρ* for *ἀνέπαλτ' αὐτάρ*, with Eust. Ω 549 *μακάρων* Lips. for *Μάκαρος*: so quoted by Suidas and others (and man. 2 of Bankes papyrus). Ω 661 *ῥέξας* Lips. for *ῥέζων*: *ῥέξας ἢ ῥέζων*, Eust. (Ω 723 *τοῖσιν* Lips. for *τῇσιν*. *ἐν ἄλλῳ τοῖσιν*. A. Itacism is not frequent in Lips.)

The reading is shared by partially collated MSS in the following cases: Π 660 *δεδαϊγμένον* L, Mosc. 2 for *βεβλημ(μ)ένον* or *βεβλαμμένον*: *γρ. δεδαϊγμένον. ἦτορ*, A. P 191 *Πηλείωνος* L, Bar. for *Πηλείδαο*: *ἐν ἄλλῳ Πηλείωνος*, A. Φ 503

πεπτῶτ' L', Vrat. A for πεπτεῶτ' or πεπτεότ' : γρ. καὶ πεπτῶτα, A.

(3) B 549 δήμω for νηῷ. E 288 om. first γ'. Z 109 μετελθέμεν for κατελθέμεν. (Z 479 εἴπῃ may represent εἴποι.) H 17—18 τὸν δ'...ὀλέκοντα for τοὺς δ'...ὀλέκοντας. H 179 τυχεῖν for λαχεῖν. Θ 409 ὣς φάτο for ὣς ἔφατ' (the hiatus is permissible and does not look like a corruption). Θ 505 ἄξεσθε for ἄξασθε. I 497 τρεπτοί for στρεπτοί. I 586 κήδιστοι for κεδνότατοι. I 703 στήθεσσι κελεύοι for στήθεσσιν ἀνώγῃ. K 72 ἀπέπεμψεν for ἀπέπεμπεν. K 221 ἐόντα for ἐόντων (AS have α interlined above -ων). K 239 εἴη for ἐστι. K 241 προσέειπε for μετέειπε (we can then read τούς for τοῖς). K 346 παραφθάνῃσι for παραφθαίῃσι (ᾱ in thesi, see Φ 262). K 389 θυμὸν (?) ἀνώγει for θυμὸς ἀνῆκε. K 451 πολεμίζειν for πολεμίξων. (Λ 354 ὦκα πέλεθρον for ὦκ' ἀπέλεθρον.) Λ 545 σάκος θέτο for σ. βάλε. Λ 562 σπουδῇ δ' for σπουδῇ τ'. Λ 681 ὑπῆρχον for ὑπῆσαν. Λ 770 ἐγείροντες for ἀγείροντες. Λ 800—1 om. M 101 ἡγεῖτο for ἡγήσατ' (legitimate hiatus). M 144 πόνος for φόβος. N 79 αὐτός for οἷος. N 303 ἀμφοτέροις for ἀμφοτέρων (the constr. with the dat. is perhaps to be preferred as the rarer). N 366 ὑπίσχετο for ὑπέσχετο. N 560. (Ξ 165 χεύει for χεύῃ, itacism ?) Ξ 335 θεῶν for τεόν. Ξ 382 χέρηι δὲ χείρονα for χερεία δὲ χείρονι. O 239 εὗρε δ' υἱόν for εὗρ' υἱόν. Π 129 ἐγείρω for ἀγείρω. Π 385 ἤματι χειμερίῳ for ἤματ' ὀπωρινῷ. Π 724 ἔπεχε for ἔφεπε, see under (2). P 202 ὡς δή L' for ὅς δή. Σ 266 πίθεσθε δέ μ' for πίθεσθέ μοι. Σ 293 νῦν δ' ὅτε δή L' for νῦν δ' ὅτε περ. T 280 κάθεσαν L' for κάθισαν (cf. N 657, θέσαν κάθεσαν looks like an intentional assonance). T 360 ἐκ νηῶν φορέοντο Lips. for νηῶν ἐκφορέοντο. Υ 166 κρειῶν ἐρατίζων L' for πρῶτον μὲν ἀτίζων. Υ 263 ῥέα διελεύσεσθαι L' for ῥεῖα δ' ἐλεύσεσθαι. Υ 320 ἠδὲ κλυτὸς L' for ἠδ' ὁ κλυτός. Φ 177 βίης Lips. for βίῃ. Φ 200 ὄμβριμον for χάλκεον. Φ 213 ἐκφέγξατο (i.e. ἐκφθέγξατο) for ἐφθέγξατο. [Φ 350 πτελέαι καὶ ἰτέαι L' for πτ. τε καὶ ἰτέαι—so Hoffmann, ii. p. 35, La R. does not record this.] Φ 350 αἱ δέ L' for ἠδέ. Φ 366 ἠδ' for οὐδ'. Φ 394 θεά for θεούς. Φ 524 om. Φ 525 πολύστονα κήδεα θῆκεν L' for πόνον καὶ κήδε' ἔθηκεν. Φ 585 αὐτῆς Lips. for αὐτῇ. X 116 Τροίην L' for Τροίηνδ'. X 297

θεὰ...ἐκάλεσσε Lips. for *θεοὶ...ἐκάλεσσαν*. X 310 *ἀπαλήν* L′ for *ἀμαλήν*. Ψ 284 *ἐρηρέαται* L′ for *ἐρηρέδαται*. Ψ 285 *ἀλλ' ἄγε δή* L′ for *ἄλλοι δέ*. Ψ 334 *ἐγχριμφθείς* L′ for *ἐγχρίμψας*. Ψ 472 *ἱπποδάμοιο πάις* L′ for *ἱπποδάμου υἱός*. Ω 18 *ἐν κονίῃ τανύσας* L′ for *ἐν κόνι ἐκτανύσας*. Ω 123 *ἀμφ' αὐτῷ* L′ for *ἀμφ' αὐτόν*. Ω 269 *ἀρηρότα* L′ for *ἀρηρός* (*καθαρὸς ἐν τέλει δάκτυλος* L in marg.). Ω 400 *ἱκέσθαι* for *ἕπεσθαι*. Ω 499 *αὐτός* L′ for *αὐτούς*. Ω 584 *κατερύξη* L, *κατερύξει* Lips. (*κατερύξαι?*) for *ἐρύσαιτο*. Ω 647 *δίδας* L′ for *δάος*.

Add also Π 21 *Πηλῆος υἱέ* L, Harl. for *Πηλέως υἱέ*. P 506 *ἁλοίη* L′, Harl. for *ἁλῴη*. Φ 234 *ὑπαίξας* L′, Harl. for *ἀπ(ἐπ)αίξας*. X 33 *λάζετο* L′, Par. A, C for *κόψατο*. X 149 *χλιαρῷ* L′, Par. A, H for *λιαρῷ*. X 194 *ὁρμήσαιτο* L′, Par. A for *ὁρμήσειε*. X 229 *βιάζετο* L′, Cant. for *βιάζεται*. X 396 *ἀμφοτέρω* L′, Par. C for *ἀμφοτέρων*. Ψ 103 *τι* L′, Vr. A for *τις*.

The length and dryness of this list of readings will I hope be excused in consideration of the results to which it leads.

The first of these is the overwhelming importance of L′ as compared with any of the other MSS with which we are dealing. If it is to be taken as a test of a MS that it should preserve as many demonstrably ancient readings as possible—and a better test can hardly be applied—then a mere arithmetical enumeration of the passages grouped under (1) and (2) will give us an order of merit. The result is somewhat surprising. It is as follows (bracketed passages omitted).

C; (1 A) 2; (1 B) 3; (2) 2; total 7.
D; (1 A) 10; (1 B) 5; (2) 13; total 28.
G group; (1 A) 8; (1 B) 6; (2) 11; total 25.
H (and Vr. d); (1 A) 8; (1 B) 6; (2) 13; total 27.
S Cant.; (1 A) 11; (1 B) 8; (2) 15; total 34.
Leipzig group; (1 A) 42; (1 B) 12; (2) 37; total 91.

Thus the Leipzig group alone has to itself more readings of Zen. Aristoph. and Aristarchos than all the other MSS together. This fact alone suffices to give it an undisputed place next to A; in a reading otherwise unattested, its authority far outweighs the consensus of all the rest of our list.

If the character of the readings, apart from their number, be

carefully examined, this conclusion is strongly confirmed. Any scholar who will take the trouble to go through the list which I have given will, I am convinced, find that the readings of L and Lips. given under (3) contain a far larger proportion of valuable variants than those of any other group—in my own opinion more than those of all the rest together. This is however to some extent a matter of opinion; and I desire, so far as possible, to keep to matters of fact alone. I will therefore merely state that I have marked no less than 26 readings under (3) as at least equal in value to those of the other MSS, 20 as unconditionally superior. In the case of C not more than 3 would come into these categories, of D 7, G 9 or 10, H 10, S, Cant. perhaps 15—all on a liberal scale of admission.

But even this disparity, striking though it is, does not represent the whole difference.

If we group under the different books the variants quoted from L we obtain the following results:

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M
(1 A)		1	1		2		1	3	4	2	2	3
(1 B)					1			1		1		3
(2)		2	1				1	3	4	1		2
(3)		1			1	1	2	2	3	7	5	2
	0	4	2	0	4	1	4	9	11	11	7	10

	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω
(1 A)	3	6		1	2	2	1	2	5	1		
(1 B)	2	1							2		1	
(2)		5	1	2	2	1	1	1	5		3	2
(3)	4	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	9	3	4	7
	9	14	2	5	5	5	4	6	21	4	8	9

It is evident that a complete change takes place in the character of the MS somewhere about H. In the first six books the variants are very scarce, hardly more numerous than in C. It is in the last 18 books only that the marked individuality of reading begins to shew itself. Out of 155 variants which I have given as the peculiar property of L, only 11—one fourteenth of the whole—occur in the first 6 books. In the last 18 books, that

is, their frequency is increased nearly fourfold. The phenomenon is too steady throughout the whole range to be set down as a mere coincidence. It is doubtless due to an accident of one of L's ancestors, which had lost the first 6 or 7 books, and had been patched up, like another descendant, Lips., from a different source. But for this the variants would, we may assume, have been equally frequent in A—Z, and their number would have been increased by some 40.

In connexion with this point it may be worth while to mention a fact first noticed by Römer, though I do not see that it is possible to suppose any but a casual relation between the two. In his *Homerrecension des Zenodot*, p. 83, he points out that there is a curious discontinuity in the Aristarchean Scholia beginning in Η, the very point at which our MS changes. "Während wir in den ersten Büchern fast durchaus, etwa nur mit Ausnahme von Γ 18, bei Aristonicus von Athetesen Zenodot's hören die mit ganz geringen Ausnahmen totale Miss- und Fehlgriffe sind und darum mit aller Entschiedenheit von Aristarch bekämpft werden, tritt uns plötzlich zu unserer grössten Ueberraschung mit Η 195—199 eine höchst befremdliche Erscheinung entgegen; da hören wir auf einmal und von hier auch fast ganz regelmässig durch die Ilias hindurch von Athetesen und Tilgungen des Zenodot und Aristophanes, welche die Billigung und den vollen Beifall Aristarch's gefunden." It is perhaps barely conceivable that this mutilated archetype of L may have had fuller excerpts from Didymos, and that the scribe of A had access to it. Such a supposition is however so improbable that it would not deserve mention, were not the question so obscure as to make us grope for information even in the most unlikely directions.

Be that as it may, it seems certain that L has preserved an extremely ancient tradition unknown to any of our other MSS, including A; for cases where AL agree against the rest are extremely scarce. I have noted only the following, though I am by no means confident that the list is complete: A 11 *ἠτιμασεν* (also Ambr.), L *ἠτιμασ'*; A 608 *ποίησεν ἰδυίῃσι*; O 49 *βοῶπι* (two out of the three, it will be observed, occur in A, where L has not yet assumed its special characteristics).

This also makes it highly improbable that Aristarchean and other ancient readings have been introduced into a vulgate text by a learned hand acquainted with Didymos; the large number of important unattested variations would alone be sufficient to disprove this.

The important question for us is this; Does L represent a collateral tradition to the vulgate, going back to Aristarchean times? To this only a doubtful answer can be given; but for my own part I am inclined to think it does. The comparison of CDGH and S gives us an idea of the amount of variation which ordinary vulgate texts were likely to acquire in the course of transmission. We see that in none of them is this amount very large, or very materially different from the rest; while L varies, under (1) and (2), about three times as much as any of them. We can naturally give only the vaguest guess at the extent to which any one of Aristarchos' MSS varied; nor have we any idea of the fulness with which his apparatus is represented by our compendium of Didymos. But we know, from the way in which the MSS are quoted, that a large number of them were used; and the amount of surviving evidence does not lead us to believe that the variations were extensive, either in number or importance, in any single case. The Μασσαλιωτική, of which we know most, is quoted in the Iliad only 27 times (Ludwich *Ar.* i. 4), i.e. its known variants are about the same as those of S in number and magnitude, and far fewer than those of L. Thus the probabilities are to my mind considerably in favour of supposing that L is a fairly faithful representative of one of the better class of MSS used by Aristarchos in forming his edition.

That, if the archetype was used by Aristarchos at all, it was one of the better class, admits of no doubt. For in the first place, of attested ancient readings, nearly half, viz. 42 out of 91, were adopted by him. In the second, though the note of Did. on B 192, where the reading of L is that of αἱ πλείους τῶν χαριεστέρων, cannot be quoted, as coming in the first six books, yet on Ξ 235 the reading of L is expressly opposed to that of αἱ δημώδεις and on X 468 to that of the κοιναί. In Ξ 418 it is opposed to the Μασσαλιωτική and Χία. In M 68 it has the

reading of *πᾶσαι*, though opposed to *ἅπασαι* in Ξ 112. In Φ 576 it has the reading of *αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*. This is certainly a very creditable record for a MS written about 1400 A.D. At the same time it must of course be remembered that we are dealing only with peculiar readings, and that in many cases where L agrees with other MSS it will give the reading of the *κοιναί*, not of the *χαριέστεραι*.

It may seem strange that, if L is thus important, the fact should not have been already recognized. Hoffmann however went some way in the right direction when he said (p. 66) that "der so mangelhaft geschriebene Lipsiensis in vielfacher Beziehung für die Kritik des Textes von nicht geringer Bedeutung ist; der Vq (L) aber uns besonders darüber aufklärt, ob wir im Lips. einen Schreibfehler oder eine Lesart vor uns haben." That he did not go further is due to his having formed what I believe to be an exaggerated opinion of the extent to which the *χαριέστεραι* of Aristarchos' time differed from the *κοιναί*. He holds that die behandelten Hss. gehören sämmtlich zu den *κοιναῖς* (p. 85), while I see no reason for supposing that any of Aristarchos' MSS differed much more from the *κοιναί* than L differs from C. La Roche, in publishing a complete collation of L, had a good opportunity of discovering the truth. If he did so, he has, so far as I know, kept it to himself, and his only utterance is that of 1866 in the *Hom. Textkr.* p. 473, to the effect that none of the Vienna MSS is good enough to deserve collation. His successors have been content to follow him blindly, and seem to have assumed that the value of his codices is determined by the alphabetical place of the letters by which he denotes them. Thus it happens that L is very rarely quoted at all. Nauck groups GHL together under the common title of "Vind."; sometimes indeed L appears simply as "unus e dett." Lips. is pretty often quoted, but without a hint to shew that it consists of two distinct codices for different parts of the Iliad. Indeed no one seems to have taken the trouble to see whether the close relationship between the "linteus" and L extended to the "bombycinus," which it certainly does not. As for Christ and Rzach, they simply ignore L and, with rare exceptions, Lips. Neither of them for instance so much as

mentions the variant *αὐτός* on Ω 499. Yet this is surely so far superior to the *αὐτούς* of the vulgate that it might almost have been accepted into the text as certain, if it had been a conjecture only. As it is it has stood on record at least since the days of Ernesti (1770) without attracting more than the mechanical attention needed to copy it from one edition into another.

Another fact, hardly less striking than the underestimation of L, appears from the list of readings; and that is the absurd overvaluation of C and D. The variants of these two MSS are religiously quoted by Nauck, Christ and Rzach; yet it is not too much to say that what they have contributed to the improvement of the text amounts to simply nothing. The two together hardly offer a dozen of readings not otherwise known which can seriously compete for a place in a modern text.

The only merit of C is that of a very consistent mediocrity; it is the most average representative of the pure vulgate. As any two or three MSS will give us the vulgate, this is not a very valuable trait; at most we can say that C is a good guide to the most popular reading in the lacunae of A. With D the case is different; here we have plenty of independence, but it takes the shape of ignorant excentricity which sometimes gives us a real gem; for instance X 438 *Ἕκτορος· οὐ γάρ πως ἐτήτυμον ἄγγελον ηλθεν*, X 477 *Ἕκτορ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος· ἰῇ ἀρὰ νυκτὶ γεινόμεσθα.* (The accentuation, it will be observed, is somewhat primitive.) D has an unquestionable claim to a place among the "deteriores."

The remaining three groups stand much on a level; but on the whole it seems to me that the G and H groups shew most evidence of an old tradition in their variants. Those of the S group are extremely numerous, but wear rather the air of the corrections, involuntary perhaps in many cases, of a clever scribe, well acquainted with Homer, who used a little too much freedom in correcting his archetype, and often allowed his memory of similar passages to seduce him into needless alterations. Thus on the whole the readings of S will be hardly able to assert the claim to a place slightly above G and H which the number of passages under (1) and (2) would seem to indicate.

G must stand somewhat higher than H, as the latter MS is written with painful carelessness by a scribe very imperfectly acquainted with Greek.

I take this opportunity of adding an analysis of the solitary readings of A, without which this discussion would not be complete. They are grouped as before.

(1 A) Readings of Ar. B 436 *ἐγγυαλίζει* for *ἐγγυαλίξει*. B 621 *Ἀκτορίωνε* for *Ἀκτορίωνος*. Δ 117 *μελαινέων* for *μελαινάων*. Δ 400 *ἀμείνων* for *ἀμείνω*. H 186 *δή ῥ' ἴκανε* for *δὴ τὸν ἵκανε*: *διχῶς* Ar. H 451 and 458 *ὅσην* (and Ambr. for *ὅσον*. Θ 378 *προφανέντε* (and Mosc. 3) for *προφανείσα(ς)*. I 7 *ἔχευεν* (and Ambr. Townl.) for *ἔχεναν* (*διχῶς* Ar.). I 488 *γούνεσσι* (and Townl.) for *γούνασ(σ)ι*. I 632 *φονῆος* for *φόνοιο*. K 515 *ἀλαὸς σκοπιήν* for *ἀλαοσκοπιήν* (and also N 10). K 579 *ἀφυσσόμενοι* (and Harl.) for *ἀφυσσάμενοι*. Λ 368 *ἐξενάριζεν* for *ἐξενάριξεν*. Λ 439 *τέλος* for *βέλος*. Λ 686 *χρέως* for *χρεῖος* (*χρέος*). M 340 *πᾶσαι* for *πάσας*. N 423 *στενάχοντε* for *στενάχοντα*. Ξ 223 *μέσῳ* for *ἐῷ*. O 626 *ἀήτη* for *ἀήτης*. Π 188 *φώως δέ* for *πρὸ φόως δέ*. P 214 *μεγαθύμῳ Πηλείωνι* for *μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος*. Φ 417 *ἐσαγείρετο* for *ἐσαγείρατο*. X 325 *λαυκανίην* (and Syr. Mor. Bar. Par. D) for *λαυκανίης*. Ψ 244 *κλεύθωμαι* for *κεύθωμαι*. Ψ 307 *ἐδίδαξεν* for *ἐδίδαξαν*.

(2) (B 729 *κλιμακόεσσαν* with Pausanias and Et. Mag. for *κλωμακόεσσαν*: but G has *κλημακόεσσαν*, the same thing.) Γ 301 *δαμεῖεν* (and Townl.) for *μιγεῖεν*: *δαμεῖεν ἢ μιγεῖεν*, Eust. M 33 *ἴῃ* for *ἴεν*: cf. *ἡ κοινὴ ἴει ἐστίν*, Herodian. N 745 *ἀποστήσωνται* (and Townl.) with Ap. Soph. Hesych. &c. for *ἀποτίσωνται*. O 621 *τροφέοντα* for *τροφόεντα*: *τροφέοντα...ἢ τροφόεντα, γράφεται γὰρ διχῶς* Eust. O 680 *συναείρεται* for *συναγείρεται*, cf. Schol. T and Eust. P 724 *αἴραντας* (and Vr. d: *ἀείραντας* Harl.) for *αἴροντας*: so Choiroboskos in Et. Mag. Σ 548 *ἀρηρεμένῃ* for *ἀρηρομένῃ*: *τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀρηρεμένῃ διὰ τοῦ ε*, Eust. X 380 *ἔρρεξεν* (and Mor. Bar. Harl.) for *ἔρδεσκεν*: *ἔρρεξεν ἢ ἔρδεσκεν*, Eust.

(3) Λ 342 *ὀλοῇσι* for *ὀλοῇσι*. Γ 436 *δαμασθῇς* for *δαμείης*. Δ 395 *Πολυφόντης* for *Λυκοφόντης*. E 279 *τύχωμι* for *τύχοιμι*. E 697 *ἀμπνύθη* for *ἀμπνύνθη*. Z 120 *ἀμφοτέρω* for *ἀμφοτέρων*. H 316 *διέχευον* for *διέχεναν*. H 347 *ἀντίον ηὖδα*

for ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν. Θ 339 διώκων (and Townl.) for πεποιθώς. Θ 519 πρότι for περί. I 118 ὄλεσσε for δάμασσε. I 311 παρήμενος (and Townl.) for παρήμενοι. I 414 ἵκωμι for ἵκωμαι. I 424 σόῳ for σόῃ (possibly Aristarchean). I 564 ἀφήρπασε for ἀνήρπασε. Λ 186, Ξ 470 ἔνισπες for ἔνισπε. Λ 300 βροτολοίγῳ ἶσος Ἄρηι for ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν. N 78 νέρθε πόδεσσιν for νέρθε δὲ ποσσίν. Ξ 43 ἱκάνεις for ἀφικάνεις. Ξ 489 Πηνελέωο for -οιο. O 297 ὥς κε for εἴ κε. O 656 αὐτοί for αὐτοῦ. Π 218 θωρήσσεσθον for θωρήσσοντο. Σ 68 εἰσανέβησαν for εἰσανέβαινον. Σ 240 πέμπεν (and Harl.) for πέμψεν. Υ 331 ἐνὶ νηί for σὺν νηί. Υ 394 ὀπισσώτροις (and Syr.) for ἐπισσώτροις (so also Ψ 519). Φ 409 μιν (and Mor. Vr. A) for οἱ. Φ 498 γάρ (and Mor. Vr. A, Syr.) for δέ. Φ 520 πὰρ Ζηνί (and Mor.) for παρὰ πατρί. Φ 525 φόνον (and Harl. Mor.) for πόνον. Φ 585 ἦ μάλα for ἦ τ' ἔτι. Φ 610 ἐσσυμένως (and Bar. Mor.) for ἀσπασίως. X 87 θάλος (and Par. G, I) for τέκος. Ψ 465 φύγεν (and Bar. Vrat. d) for φύγον. Ψ 727 ἔπεσ' (and Vr. d) for ἔβαλ'. Ψ 765 ἐκ for οἱ. Ψ 844 μέν (and Vr. b) for δή. Ω 311 μάλιστα for μέγιστον. Ω 322 γεραιὸς ἑοῦ (and Mor.) for γέρων ξεστοῦ. Ω 359 ἐπί (and Townl. Vr. b) for ἐνί. Ω 676 τῷ δ' ἄρα (and Bar. Mor.) for τῷ δέ.

This list clearly shews the character of the text of A. It is copied from a typical vulgate MS with a number of Aristarchean readings introduced from the scholia. It will be noticed that under (1) there are none but Aristarchean readings, pretty clearly shewing that these were deliberately introduced. Had A handed down a separate line of ancient tradition, it is clear from the evidence of the other MSS that there would have been some readings of Zen. and Aristophanes mixed with those of Aristarchos, that the group (1 B) would not have been conspicuously absent, and that there would have been a far larger group (2). At the same time it must be remembered that in the other classes a large portion of passages were referred to (2) on the strength of the marginal notes (γράφεται or ἐν ἄλλῳ) of A; with A itself this evidence is not available. As a matter of comparison therefore the list is not to be depended on; we can only say that the service done to the criticism of the Iliad by the text of

A, independently of the scholia, is but small: there are hardly more than a dozen lines where we should lose a distinctly preferable reading, had the scholia alone been preserved. On the other hand A is undoubtedly to be taken, on account of the care with which it is written, as the standard vulgate, and as thereby rendering completely useless any collation of C and presumably B.

It seems useless to attempt a more minute classification until we have got more satisfactory materials on which to work. I proceed to some practical considerations which may aid in the collection of such materials.

The first thing to note is, that we need not despair of the value of a MS because it is late, without scholia, itacistic[1], and carelessly written. The readings alone can decide whether a MS is valuable. It is quite possible that among the many uncollated and imperfectly described MSS of our libraries we may yet find the archetype of L, or still better, others of equal value. On the other hand, age is little presumption by itself in favour of importance of an otherwise unknown codex.

Another consideration is that we cannot judge a MS by collation of a book or two only. The fullest examination of A—Z would not even tend to reveal the importance of L, though the MS itself, so far as we are told, shews no sign of change in writing or material between Z and Θ.

These two considerations, taken together, might seem to imply that we could not depend upon having even approximately used our material until the whole of the known MSS had been fully collated. It would be unfortunate if such a conclusion were inevitable, as it would tend to retard indefinitely any serious advance; the collation of all known MSS would be the heavy work of many years for any one man. But the method which has been followed gives us the guide by which the labour may be abridged. The key lies in the fact that the value of the MSS with which we have dealt is

[1] L furnishes in I 154 (=296) an awful example of what itacism may lead to. The men of Pylos instead of being πολύρρηνες appear as πολύρρινες, "many-nosed." The second hand has sagely corrected this to πολύρριναι, "many-hided."

fairly proportionate to the number of ancient attested readings which they contain. Let then any scholar who will undertake the work of reforming our *apparatus criticus* draw up a list of all variants of which we have knowledge that are attested by Didymos and the other sources of the Schol. A, by Eustathios, and by ancient authors, and let him compare this with the MS which he wishes to appreciate. Any MS which contains anything like 60 of these quite or nearly to itself will be of the highest importance, and should be carefully collated from beginning to end. The discovery of one such will be worth the collation of twenty C's and D's. Those which shew, say, less than 20 may be left, at all events till the mass of material has been worked through and it has been ascertained that nothing of higher value has been left behind. One remark, which may save the loss of some precious time, may be made at once. B may for the present be left to take care of itself; its close connexion with C, which Hoffmann has proved, shews that there is little or nothing to be expected from that quarter. It would be far more useful to devote the time to a fresh collation of L.

WALTER LEAF.

ON SOME EPIGRAMS OF THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

Anth. P. XII. 50 5—8.

Πίνωμεν Βάκχου ζωρὸν πόμα· δάκτυλος ἀώς·
ἦ πάλι κοιμιστὰν λύχνον ἰδεῖν μένομεν;
Πίνομεν† οὐ γὰρ ἔρως· μετά τοι χρόνον οὐκέτι πουλύν,
σχέτλιε, τὴν μακρὰν νύκτ' ἀναπαυσόμεθα.

Perhaps Πίνωμεν σοβαρῶς, *possibly* with allusion to the toper's use of σοβεῖν,

Amphis fr. 18 Kock

ὁ παῖς σοβείτω τοῖς ποτηρίοις συχνοῖς,

and of περισοβεῖν,

Alciphr. I. 22 κύλικος συνεχῶς περισοβουμένης. III. 55 προϊόντος τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ τῆς φιλοτησίας συνεχῶς περισοβουμένης.

Hippolochus ap. Athen. 130 ὁ Κάρανος ἄρξας πότου μικροῖς ἐκπώμασι περισοβεῖν ἐκέλευε τοῖς παισίν.

Athen. 504 ἔδωκε τῷ παιδὶ περισοβεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ κελεύσας, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγων, παρατιθέμενος Μενάνδρου ἐκ Περινθίας

οὐδεμίαν ἡ γραῦς ὅλως
κύλικα παρῆκεν, ἀλλὰ πίνει τὴν κύκλῳ.

καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θεοφορουμένης

παῖ, ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον περισόβει ποτήριον
αὐτοῖς ἀκράτου.

These passages are quoted by Valckenaer in his *Callimachi Elegiarum fragmenta*, pp. 257—259, Bergler on Alciphron I.

22, and Jacob on Philostratus' *Imagines*, p. 597 '*σοβεῖν τὸν κύλικα* est *περιελαύνειν*' Jacob there. But though *σοβαρῶς πίνειν* would of course suggest the free and rapid circulation of the cups which was expressed by *σοβεῖν*, in itself it need mean nothing more than *σφοδρῶς*, 'vehemently' 'with a will.'

Anth. P. v. 132.

ὦ ποδός, ὦ κνήμης, ὦ τῶν ἀπόλωλα δικαίως
μηρῶν, ὦ γλουτῶν, ὦ κτενός, ὦ λαγόνων,
†ὥμοιν ὦ μαστῶν, ὦ τοῦ ῥαδινοῖο τραχήλου,
ὦ χειρῶν, ὦ τῶν μαίνομαι ὀμματίων,
ὦ κακοτεχνοτάτου κινήματος, ὦ περιάλλων
γλωττισμῶν, ὦ τῶν †θυεμε† φωναρίων.
εἰ δ' Ὀπικὴ καὶ Φλῶρα καὶ οὐκ ἄδουσα τὰ Σαπφοῦς,
καὶ Περσεὺς Ἰνδῆς ἠράσατ' Ἀντιόπης.

This epigram of Philodemus has been treated by Kaibel in his edition of the poet's epigrams Greifswald 1885. He gives in 3 *ὥμων*, which cannot be right. An *ὦ* is required before each consecutively praised part of the body. I believe that *ὥμοιν ὦ* is a corruption of *ὦ μνοιῶν*. Hesych. *μν(ο)ιόν, ἁπαλόν*, where Schmidt quotes from Cramer's Anecd. Oxon. II. 378 *μνιός· ὁ ἁπαλὸς παρ' Εὐφορίωνι*. In 6 Bücheler has suggested *θύμ' ἐμέ*, like *κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχή μου*, of Mart. X. 68, and Juvenal's *Ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή*. In spite of its cleverness, this does not convince me, as it has not convinced Kaibel. May not the MS reading be right *θῦέ με* 'with which she used to slay me'? This at least is the more natural suggestion of the previous *ὦ τῶν ἀπόλωλα δικαίως μηρῶν*, where *τῶν* is an attraction for *τοῖς*. If any instance could be cited of *θύειν* in the active sense of 'maddening,' this is what it might more properly mean here. Kaibel ingeniously suggests that some Oscan word or Greek Oscanly corrupted lurks in *θυεμε*.

Anth. P. v. 306. 3, 4.

ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἔρωτος· ὅταν δ' εἴπω 'παράκειμαι,
καὶ σὺ μένεις;' ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν ἐρῶντος ἔχεις.

It seems at least possible that this is right, '*sed cum dixi 'accumbo tibi, et tu moraris, nec mihi te statim applicas?*' Kaibel's

κἀσθμαίνῃς in the sense of 'panting' as an outward sign of violent love emotion, cf. XI. 52. 1—3 σαγηνευθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτι Ἀσθμαίνεις, δελφὶς ὥς τις ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῦ Κύματος ἰμείρων, does not suit the meaning.

The epigrams of *Crinagoras*, a Mitylenaean poet of the Augustan era, have been recently (1888) edited by Rubensohn, who has had the advantage of a re-collation of the Heidelberg MS by Stadtmüller, and has himself written in Latin a careful introduction on the life of Crinagoras, as well as a commentary on each poem. Rubensohn's edition should be supplemented by the masterly *Rom und Mitylene* of Conrad Cichorius (Teubner, 1888), in which a historical instinct of no common order has turned to account inscriptions newly discovered at Mitylene, and personal inspection of Lesbian localities, for illustrating the epigrams of the Lesbian poet and ambassador. Crinagoras was in intimate relations with the family of Augustus, particularly with Octavia, a circumstance which gives a special interest to these two small volumes.

In ep. XVIII. 5 (Rubens.) = Anth. P. VII. 628, where the MS gives

παιδὶ γὰρ ὃν τύμβῳ δίης ὑπεθήκατο βώλου,

Brodaeus, Grotius and Kaibel agree in considering Dies to be a proper name, Kaibel comparing a strikingly similar verse from a Mitylenaean inscription

τὴν κύνα Λεσβιακῇ βώλῳ ὑπεθήκατο Βάλβος.

This is now proved to be right by the occurrence of the name, Dies son of Matrokles, among a list of envoys mentioned in a Lesbian inscription. It is to be regretted that Rubensohn had not read Cichorius' convincing remarks on this point. He gives the verse with an infelicitous conj. of Herwerden's

παιδὶ γὰρ ὃν τύμβῳ ἰδίης ὑπεθήκατο βώλου.

Ep. XXXVI. 1—4 (Rubens.) = Anth. P. IX. 450.

τῆς ὅιος γενεὴ μὲν ἀγαρρικὴ ἐντὸς ἀράξεο
ὕδωρ πιλοφόροις πίνεται Ἀρμενίοις. [μαλλοῖς
χαῖται (χεῖται MS) δ' οὐ μήλοις ἅτε που μαλακοῖς ἐπὶ
ψεδναὶ δ' ἀγροτέρων τρηχίτεραι χιμάρων.

I have already spoken of this epigram in vol. XI. p. 26 of this Journal (1882). I there alter the reading of the MS *ἀγαρ-ρικὴ ἐντὸς* to *ἀγαρρικόεντος*, a conj. of which, as well as of the accompanying remarks, Rubensohn has taken no notice; it is however with vv. 3, 4 that I am now concerned. It appears to me impossible that Schneider's alterations, which Rubensohn accepts, should be right:

χαῖται δ'— οὐ μήλοις ἅτε που μελακοὶ ἔπι μαλλοί—
ψεδναὶ δ' κ.τ.λ.

For (1) it introduces a prosodial license against the MS, (2) the sudden interruption of the construction is ungraceful and should not be imputed to Crinagoras. I have stated my belief (American Journal of Philology for 1888, p. 363) that the poet wrote

χαῖται δ' οὐ μήλοισιν ἅτ', οὐ μαλακοῖς ἐπὶ μαλλοῖς

'its hair is not as sheep's, not with soft naps' or possibly 'not superposed on soft naps.'

XLII Rubens. = Anth. P. IX. 555.

The MS gives this epigram thus

Νῆσον τὴν εἰ καί με περὶ γράψαντες ἔχουσιν
μετρῆσαι βαιὴν ἑπτὰ μόνον σταδίους
ἔμπης καὶ τίκτουσαν ἐπαύλακα πῖαρ ἀρότρου
ὄψῃ καὶ παντὸς κάρπιμον ἀκροδρύου
καὶ πολλοῖς ἔναγρον ὑπ' ἰχθύσι καὶ ὑπὸ μαίρῃ
εὐάνεμον λιμένων τ' ἤπιον ἀτρεμίῃ
ἀγχόθι Κορκύρης Φαιηκίδος· ἀλλὰ †γελᾶσθαι
τῶι ἐπεωρίσθην τοῦτ' ἐθέμην ὄνομα.

Rubensohn has rightly retained most of this unaltered, e.g., 1 *ἔχουσιν*, 3 *ἐπ' αὔλακα*. But he prefers the correction of the original scribe *σταδίοις* to the m. prima *σταδίους*, in 3 *ἀρούρης* of Toup for *ἀρότρου*, in 5 *ἐπ' ἰχθύσι* of Toup for *ὑπ'*. Each of these corrections seems open to doubt. I will translate the epigram as the best way of clearing the ground.

'The island, which, even if they are able to mark about and measure me, is small, a poor seven stadia in compass, thou shalt

see notwithstanding not only bearing along the furrow the plough's best yield, but prolific in every kind of fruit-tree, and excellent for sport for the crowds of fish that haunt it, blessed too with a fair breeze under the dog-star's heat, and tranquil with windless havens, close to Corcyra home of the Phaeacians. But I adopted as a name the thing which I made my glory, only to be ridiculed for bearing it.'

Rubensohn strangely interprets *τὴν* as *τήνδε*, comparing from another epigram of Crinagoras (XXVIII. 5) *Ἐκ πατέρων εἴη παισὶν πάλι τοῖσιν ἀνάκτων Ἔμπεδον ἠπείροις σκῆπτρον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις.* There it is certainly *possible* that *τοῖσιν* is 'these'; but it is far more probable that Crinagoras meant 'From the fathers may there be to their sons after them, the sons of kings (i.e. sons as they are of kings), a firm sceptre on both continents.' And this is the only parallel alleged. I do not doubt that *τὴν* refers to the coming *βαιὴν* in 2, *τὴν βαιὴν (οὖσαν), εἰ καὶ ἔχουσί με περιγράψαντες μετρῆσαι.* Again there seems no reason for preferring the corrected reading *σταδίοις* to the first reading *σταδίους*: for though the passages cited by Rubensohn prove that *μετρεῖν* is often constructed with a dative, the accusative of space-extent is equally natural (Hadley Gr. § 720). Nor is it certain that Toup's *ἀρούρης* is right for *ἀρότρου* in 3, though *πῖαρ ἀρούρης* is perhaps justified by Lycophron's (Al. 1059, 1060)

> *μολόντες αἰτίζωσι κοιράνου γύας*
> *ἐσθλῆς ἀρούρης πῖαρ ἔγκληρον χθονός*

unless *ἀρούρης* is there to be taken with *γύας* rather than *πῖαρ*. Still, though the MS reading *πῖαρ ἀρότρου* is quite defensible, in the sense rather of 'the plough's best yield' than 'the plough's fat yield,' it may well be that the termination of *ἀκροδρύου* in the next verse (4) caused the substitution of a similar termination in 3, *ἀρούρης* thus becoming *ἀρότρου*. But in 5 I cannot see why *ὑπὸ* should give place to *ἐπί*. The lexicons prove that in later Greek the early use of *ὑπὸ* with *αἰλοῖς λαμπάδι κήρυκι*, &c. was much extended and applied in many ways to express attending circumstance, sometimes with a further notion of cause, as here. But *καὶ ὑπὸ μαίρῃ* has a very unharmonious

sound to my ear; Meineke's *καὶ ῥ' ὑπὸ* seems more than probable. Vv. 7, 8 I have translated following Rubensohn's '*sed unde gloriandi materiam duxi, id mihi indidi nomen ita ut deridear*': but with very little confidence that it is right. The *ἐωρίσθην* indeed has the support of Hesychius' *ἐωρίζεται· μετεωρίζεται ἀναπατεῖ*: but it is not a good word; the sense is obscure, and hardly agrees with the explanation of Hesychius. The construction too of *γελᾶσθαι* is more than odd: and the significance of *ἀλλὰ* ill-defined. It may be that *γελᾶσθαι* is an error for *γελασταί*: this would at least give a point to *ἀλλά*, which would then introduce a sudden apostrophe to scoffers who derided the island for its name (Sybota), like Latin *at*. It had also occurred to me that *τῶι ἐπεωρίσθην* might be *τῷ ἔπει ὡρίσθην*, which retaining *γελᾶσθαι* would mean '*quo uocabulo destinata sum ad ridendum, hoc mihi nomen indidi*': but the line thus becomes very prosaic.

Anth. P. IX. 340.

Αὐλοὶ τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἔργον Ὑάγνιδος, ἡνίκα μήτηρ
ἱερὰ τὰν κυβέλοις πρῶτ' ἀνέδειξε θεῶν,
καὶ πρὸς ἐμὸν φώνημα καλὴν ἀνελύσατο χαίταν
ἔκφρων Ἰδαίης ἀμφίπολος θαλάμης,
εἰ δὲ Κελαινίτης ποιμὴν πάρος οὔπερ ἀείσας
ἐγνώθη Φοίβου κεῖνον ἔδειξεν ἔρις.

By changing *εἰ δὲ* to *εἴθε* in 5, all becomes intelligible, 'would that, where once the shepherd of Celaenae (Marsyas) sang and was sentenced by Apollo (viz. to be flayed for being defeated in a contest of song), the strife had exhibited *him*, (Hyagnis)': for if Hyagnis had taken the place of Marsyas, he would not have been defeated.

Anth. P. IX. 742. 3, 4.

χαλκὸν γὰρ ἀμῶν οὐκ ἐσάρκωσεν Μύρων
τέχνα δὲ ζωπόνησεν ὄψιν ἔμπνοον.

For *ζωπόνησεν* Plan. gives *ἐξεπόνησεν*. As the poet is speaking of the *life-like* bronze cow of Myron, I fancy the word may have been *ἐπεζώησεν*.

Anth. P. IX. 814

Νύμφαι Νηιάδες μετανάστιοι, οὐχ ἅμα πάσας
ἤξειν ὠιόμην χεύμασιν ἠμετέροις·
εἰ δὲ τόσην τὸ λοετρὸν ἔχει χάριν, οὐδὲν ὀνήσει
ὁ φθόνος, εἰ Νύμφαι πᾶν ἀπέλειπον ὕδωρ.

The poet speaks, it would seem, of a bath which was much frequented by visitors, and was perhaps surrounded by fine wood-scenery. The springs which supplied the bath with water all failed suddenly. In this impromtu (for its poorness proves it to be nothing else) the fact is recorded and ascribed to the jealousy of the wood Nymphs; a jealousy which however would be of no harm, as the natural attractions of the place were sure to counteract it. I read therefore in 2 *λήξειν*, and retain the rest unaltered. 'Naiad Nymphs that have decamped, I had not thought ye would all of you cease at once to supply our streams. And yet (δὲ) if the bath is as charming as it is, jealousy will avail nothing, no, though the Nymphs failed with the whole of the water-supply.' *ἀπέλειπον*, on my view, means 'abandoned,' or 'neglected to supply.'

Anth. P. X. 73.

Εἰ τὸ φέρον σε φέρει, φέρε καὶ φέρου· εἰ δ' ἀγανακτεῖς,
καὶ σαυτὸν λυπεῖς καὶ τὸ φέρον σε φέρει.

It is clear to me that the apodosis to *εἰ δ' ἀγανακτεῖς* begins at *καὶ σαυτὸν*, not at *καὶ τὸ φέρον*, as the editor of Dübner's 2nd vol. makes it do. 'If fortune bears you away with it, bear it and be borne on by it: but if you fret, you are at once vexing yourself and still fortune is bearing you on at will.'

Anth. P. VI. 292.

Λί μίτραι, τό θ' ἁλουργὲς ὑπένδυμα, τοί τε Λάκωνες
πέπλοι, καὶ ληρῶν οἱ χρύσεοι κάλαμοι,
πάνθ' ἅμα Νικονόη †συνεπέκπιεν· ἦν γὰρ Ἐρώτων
καὶ Χαρίτων ἡ παῖς ἀμβρόσιόν τι θάλος.
τοίγαρ τῷ κρίναντι τὰ καλλιστεῖα Πριήπῳ
νεβρίδα καὶ χρυσέην τήνδ' ἔθετο προχόην.

A very beautiful courtesan, Niconoe, had been victorious in a contest of beauty, probably against her fellow ἑταῖραι (Hecker Comment. in Anth. Graec. I. p. 256), and had won as prizes the various ornaments mentioned in 1, 2. To record her triumph she dedicates to the god Priapus, the president and umpire in the contest, a fawn-skin and a golden pitcher.

All the conjectures which I have seen of ἐπέκπιεν are worthless. It is, if I mistake not, a corruption of the rather rare word ἐπείσιον, *cunnus*. Pollux II. 170 αὐτὴ δ' ἡ τρίχωσις ἥβη τε καὶ ἐπίσιον· τὸ γὰρ ἐφήβαιον ἰατρῶν μόνων. τὸ δ' ὑπ' αὐτὰ αἰδοῖον. Hesych. ἐπίσειον· ἐφήβαιον, καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικός. The verse ran originally

πάνθ' ἅμα Νικονόης ἓν ἐπείσιον

i.e. *omnia simul Niconoes unus cunnus erant, h. e. merces cunni, quem iudicibus in certamine pulchritudinis nudauerat, uel exhibendum curauerat.*

Anth. P. VII. 79. 1—4.

Ὤνθρωπ', Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφὰ μοῦνος ἀνευρὼν
φαμί, τὰ δ' ἐς πάτραν κρέσσονα καὶ σοφίης.
λὰξ γὰρ καὶ τεκέων ἀσίωι ξένε δύσφρονας ἄνδρας
ὑλάκτευν.

So the MS, except that τεκέων has been corrected to τοκέων, no doubt rightly, as the epigram of Leonidas quoted by Hecker seems to shew:

ἄρτι γὰρ Ἱππώνακτος ὁ καὶ τοκέων κοταβαύξας
ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.

The difficulty of the passage lies in finding a construction for this genitive. The view that λὰξ is enough in itself to explain it is not tenable. I suggest that ἐπιβὰς or ἐμβὰς has fallen out, and that ιωι represents .ω. written over ξένε, as often over vocatives, and afterwards taken into the verse, thus

.ω.
λὰξ γὰρ καὶ τοκέων [ἐμβ]ὰς ξένε δύσφρονας ἄνδρας
ὑλάκτευν.

ἐμβαίνειν takes a genitive in O. C. 400 γῆς δὲ μὴ 'μβαίνῃς ὅρων.

Anth. P. VII. 233.

Αἴλιος, Αὐσονίης στρατιῆς πρόμος, ὁ χρυσέοισι
στέμμασι σωρεύσας αὐχένας ὁπλοφόρους,
νοῦσον ὅτ' εἰς ὑπάτην ὠλίσθανε, τέρμα τ' ἄφυκτον
εἶδεν ἀριστείην ἐμφανὲς εἰς ἰδίην,
πῆξε δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοισιν ἑὸν ξίφος, εἶπέ τε θνήσκων,
'Αὐτὸς ἑκὼν ἐδάμην, μὴ νόσος εὖχος ἔχῃ.'

If we had this epigram by itself, with the readings as above given from the MS, I suppose no one would hesitate to make εἶδεν depend on ὅτ' and explain ἐμφανὲς of the τέρμα ἄφυκτον of death which comes palpably upon the warrior's prowess to end it. It would follow that δ' in 5 is the δὲ of apodosis, or, as it might more fitly be called, of resumption. This could not surprise any one in a writer who uses αὐχένας of a single neck, ὑπάτην = 'last'. The epigram however has, like many others in the Greek Anthology, a double, that is to say, has been afterwards imitated in other words by a writer of a later age, Philippus of Thessalonica. It is as follows, Anth. P. VII. 234:

Αἴλιος ὁ θρασύχειρ Ἄργους πρόμος, ὁ ψελιώσας
αὐχένα χρυσοδέτοις ἐκ πολέμου στεφάνοις,
τηξιμελεῖ νούσῳ κεκολουμένος, ἔδραμε θυμῷ
ἐς προτέρην ἔργων ἄρσενα μαρτυρίην,
ὥσε δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις πλατὺ φάσγανον, ἓν μόνον εἰπὼν
'Ἄνδρας ἄρης κτείνει, δειλοτέρους δὲ νόσος'.

In 1, Ἄργους the MS, as well as Plan. and Suidas: the conj. ἄρεος is wholly unwarranted; in 3 similarly ἔδραμε, of the MS as well as Suidas (the latter twice over), is not to be changed with Hecker to ἔδρακε; in 4 προτέρων of Plan. may be right against προτέρην.

The imitation reproduces the original very closely, especially in the pauses of the verse, which distribute the clauses similarly in both epigrams. Thus in both, the first clause ends at the fourth foot with πρόμος, the second at the end of 2; and in 5, 6 similarly the later poet exactly reproduces the rhythmical divisions of the earlier. It seems a natural conclusion that 3, 4 should also correspond with more or less exactness, and this

supports us in constructing *τέρμα τ' ἄφυκτον* with 4, as the MS reading *ἐμφανὲς* requires us to do on other grounds. What then are we to say of the words

ἔδραμε θυμῷ
ἐς προτέρην ἔργων ἄρσενα μαρτυρίην,

corresponding as they seem to do with

τέρμα τ' ἄφυκτον
εἶδεν ἀριστείην ἐμφανὲς εἰς ἰδίην?

It is obvious that they do not agree as they stand. It is equally obvious that by changing with Hecker *ἐμφανὲς* to *ἐμφανῇ*, we obtain only a poor and faint correspondence. For we must then (1) alter the punctuation, and make *τέρμα τ' ἄφυκτον* depend on *εἰς*, which as diction is harsh and improbable, (2) make *εἶδεν ἀριστείην ἐμφανῇ εἰς ἰδίην* = '*respexit ad uirtutem quam ipse olim palam omnibus exhibuerat*,' *ἐμφανῇ*, or as it might have been written *ἐμφανέ'*, thus answering to *μαρτυρίην*, (3) and after all we find nothing which is like *ἔδραμε θυμῷ*. It seems a better solution of the difficulty to believe that Philippus had a different version of Apollonidas' epigram before him than the one we possess. To this the naturalness of the MS reading in vv. 3, 4, of the first epigram, as against the forced and unnatural style of the proposed emendation, seems to point conclusively. And it is not to be forgotten that it is not in these two verses only that a want of correspondence between the two epigrams may be traced, for in 1 the first of the epigrams has *Αὐσονίης*, the second *Ἄργους*, and this reading is further attested by Plan. and Suidas; *Ἄρεος*, the proposed emendation, does not after all represent *Αὐσονίης*.

Anth. P. VII. 243.

Φωκίδι πὰρ πέτρῃ δέρκευ τάφον. εἰμὶ δ' ἐκείνων
τῶν ποτε Μηδοφόνων μνᾶμα τριηκοσίων,
οἳ Σπαρτᾶς ἀπὸ γᾶς τηλοῦ πέσον, ἀμβλύναντες
Ἄρεα καὶ Μῆδον καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον.
ἦν δ' ἐσορῇς ἐπ' ἐμεῖο † βοόστρυχον εἰκόνα θηρός,
ἔννεπε· 'τοῦ ταγοῦ μνᾶμα Λεωνίδεω.'

On the tomb of Leonidas, over which stood a figure of a lion. For *βοόστρυχον*, Plan. and Suid. give *βόστρυχον*. All give *ἐπ' ἐμεῖο*, which in itself is so good as to make me very suspicious of Hecker's otherwise clever conj. *ἐπ' ἐμεῖ' ἰοβόστρυχον*. Schneidewin was, I think, more than justified in his doubts about this word; for though Hecker's citations, Comment. de Anth. Graec. I. p. 280, shew that the *ἴον* is often described as yellow (Pind. Ol. VI. 55 *ἴων ξανθαῖς ἀκτῖσιν*, cf. Nicander's description of the *ἴον* as *ὠχρόν τε χρυσῷ τε φυὴν εἰς ὦπα προσειδές*), he can shew no passage in which *ἰοβόστρυχος* = *ξανθοκόμης*; and until this is done, the first suggestion of the word is, I imagine, not of a yellow, but of a dark or violet colour. Even if it could mean what Hecker supposes, would such an open-air statue of a lion have had its mane *painted!* It seems at least as likely that *βοόστρυχον* conceals some adj. expressing the prime characteristic of the lion, its *cattle-slaughtering* propensities; *βοοσφάγον*, *βοοσσόον*, or some other word: unless indeed it could be shewn that *βοόστρυχον* meant '**ox-stripping**' (*τρύχειν*, *τρύχος*).

Anth. P. VII. 396.

Οἰδίποδος παίδων Θήβη τάφος· ἀλλ' ὁ πανάλης
τύμβος ἔτι ζώντων αἰσθάνεται πολέμων.
κείνους οὔτ' ἀΐδης ἐδαμάσσατο, κὴν Ἀχέροντι
μάρναντ[αι]· κείνων χὠ τάφος ἀντίπαλος.
καὶ πυρὶ πῦρ ἤλεγξαν ἐναντίον. ὦ ἐλεεινοὶ
παῖδες, ἀκοιμήτων ἁψάμενοι δοράτων.

For *ἤλεγξαν* I have before suggested *εἴλιξαν* (Hermathena for 1886, p. 15). Ausonius in his paraphrase gives *Namque etiam ex uno dum surgunt aggere flammae In diuersa sui dissiliunt cineres.*

Anth. P. VII. 472. 9—12.

Ὤνερ, ἴδ' ὡς ἀχρεῖον· ἐπεὶ περὶ νήματος ἄκρον
εὐλὴ ἀκέρκιστον λῶπος ἐφεζομένη.
οἷον τὸ †ψαλάθριον ἀπεψιλωμένον, οἷον
πολλῷ ἀραχνείου στυγνότερον σκελέτου.

A passage describing the disgusting condition of the human body after death. 'Man, see how useless is human exaltation of spirit (*ὑψοῦσθ' ἀέρα καὶς νεφέλας*): round the end of the thread is a worm seated on the robe whose tissue no shuttle wove. See what a thing is that chrysalis now stript bare, how far more loathly than a spider's dry slough.' Such seems to be the meaning: but *ψαλάθριον* is yet unexplained. Perhaps it is a corruption of *ψαλυγεῖον*. Hesych. *ψαλύγων· ἔνιοι ψά(λυ)γας τὰς λεγομένας ψυχὰς ἄμεινον, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς σπινθῆρας.*

Anth. P. VII. 485.

Βάλλεθ' ὑπὲρ τύμβου πολιὰ κρίνα, καὶ τὰ συνήθη
τύμπαν' ἐπὶ στήλῃ ῥήσσετ' Ἀλεξαμένους,
καὶ περιδινήσασθε μακρῆς ἀνελίγματα χαίτης
Στρυμονίην ἄφετοι Θυιάδες ἀμφὶ πόλιν,
ἢ γλυκερὰ πνεύσαντος ἐφ' ὑμετέροισιν †ἀδάπταις
πολλάκι πρὸς μαλακοὺς τοῦδ' ἐχόρευε νόμους.

Unger has very ingeniously conj. *ἐφ' ἱμερτοῖσιν Ἀλάπταις*, citizens of Alapta in Thrace. I am not so convinced by this as not to venture on a different explanation. Hesych. *ἄδαπτον· γυμνόν. ἄδερμον.* Possibly then *ἀδάπταις* represents a dat. plur. of *ἀδάπτης*, a formation from *ἄδαπτος*, and meaning 'bare-limbed dances'; the name, as Jacob suggested, has a local look, and was a special word of this region of Thrace. Propertius IV. (v). 5. 72 *Strymonis abscisso fertur aperta sinu* possibly alludes to a similar practice of the women by the Strymon: but the passage is doubtful.

Anth. P. VII. 707. 7—10.

καὶ πάλιν εἰσώρμησα τὸν ἄρσενα Δωρίδι Μούσῃ
ῥυθμόν, πρός τ' αὐδὴν ἑλκόμενος μεγάλην,
ἑπτὰ δέ μοι ερσων τύπος οὐ χερὶ καινοτομηθεὶς
τῇ φιλοκινδύνῳ φροντίδι Σωσιθέου.

A Satyr sculptured on a monument is supposed to be recording the service which Sositheus had done to Satyric Drama, by bringing back the Dorian music and a more exalted tone in language (or, as others think, the Dorian dialect)

vv. 7, 8. The 9th verse is strangely corrupt, but the emendation *εὔαδε* for *ἑπτὰ δέ* makes confusion worse than before. If anything is clear, it is that *ἑπτὰ δὲ* is opposed to some other number, therefore for *οὐ χερὶ* I read *οὐχ ἑνί*, as Näke Opusc. I. 8 suggested, without however seeing that *εἴαδεν* thus became impossible.

There is a good deal of probability in Hecker's *ἑπταδύμων*, except that I would write preferably in the dative *ἑπταδύμῳ θύρσῳ*, or possibly *θιάσῳ*. Whether *τύπος* should be retained, or *τύπον* written, to be constructed after *καινοτομηθείς*, is doubtful. The verse will now be as follows

ἑπταδύμῳ θύρσῳ (θιάσῳ) τύπος, οὐχ ἑνὶ καινοτομηθείς.

To return to vv. 7, 8. *εἰσώρμησα* is not to be altered to *εἰσώρμησε*, nor translated actively. The Satyr runs or bounds in *more suo*: then the accus. *ῥυθμὸν* must either depend on *πρὸς* referred to it backwards from *πρός τ' αὐδήν*, or after *ἑλκόμενος*, 'dancing in the measured rhythm of the masculine Dorian Muse (literally, masculine with the D. Muse), and to the accompaniment of sonorous diction, a mode (of Satyric drama) cut to a new pattern not with one thyrsus (thiasus), but with seven, by the adventurous device of Sositheus.'

Anth. P. VII. 713. 1—4.

Παυροεπὴς Ἥρινν', καὶ οὐ πολύμυθος ἀοιδαῖς·
ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν Μούσας τοῦτο τὸ βαιὸν ἔπος.
τοιγάρτοι μνήμης οὐκ ἤμβροτεν, οὐδὲ μελαίνης
νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῇ κωλύεται πτέρυγι.

κωλύεται seems very strange. May it not be an error for *κωκύεται*? 'She is not bemoaned as lying beneath night's dark wing.'

Anth. P. VII. 721. 1, 2.

τοῖς Ἄργει παρθενϊσαι χέρες, ἶσα δὲ τεύχη
συμβάλομεν· Θυρέαι δ' ἦσαν ἄεθλα δορός.

Jacob's acuteness detected in *παρθεν* the word *Σπάρτηθεν*, and Meineke's subsequent completion of the verse *τοῖς Ἄργει Σπάρτηθεν* is printed by Dübner. Yet it can hardly be right:

for (1) τοῖς Ἄργει is odd, (2) it does not account for the loss of σ before παρ. I would write Ἄργει τοῖς Σπάρτηθεν, 'Argos had the same number of hands as the men of Sparta, and our arms equalled theirs in the conflict.'

I come to an epigram of Callimachus, LIX in the editions of Meineke and Wilamowitz. Anth. P. XI. 362.

Εὐδαίμων ὅτι τἄλλα μανεὶς ὡρχαῖος Ὀρέστας,
Λεύκαρε, τὰν ἁμὰν οὐκ ἐμάνη μανίαν,
οὐδ' ἔλαβ' ἐξέτασιν τοῦ Φωκέος, ἅτις ἐλέγχει
τὸν φίλον· †ἄλλαι χ' ἓν δρᾶμ' ἐδίδαξε μόνον,
ἦ τάχα κα[1] τὸν ἑταῖρον ἀπώλεσε τοῦτο ποιήσας,
κἠγὼ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκέτ' ἔχω Πυλάδας.

The only remark I have to offer on the much disputed verse 4, is that it needs no alteration, but is right as it stands, ἀλλ' αἰ χὰν δρᾶμ' ἐδίδαξε μόνον. 'Happy was Orestes that he was never forced to put Pylades to the same test by which I have tried my friends. If he had brought out only one single play, he would soon have lost his comrade by this act. I *have* brought out a play, and all my most faithful friends have disappeared.' Callimachus had tried his hand on drama and had failed egregiously, even to the extent of being avoided by his most intimate friends.

[1] So the MS and so Meineke prints, κα*ὶ* or κ*εν* are obvious corrections.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

LITERARY CRITICISM IN LATIN ANTIQUITY[1].

I.

It may be said in general that two main lines of literary criticism may be distinguished in ancient as in modern times. The first is the criticism of philosophy, which investigates the principles of beauty, regards art and literature alike as manifestations of the human spirit at the utmost height of its effort, and judges of literary and artistic productions according as they approach the realization of their intention. The second is the isolated and spontaneous judgment of artists and men of letters, sometimes accidental, occasional, and fragmentary, sometimes regularly formulated, but never rising beyond the point attained by the personal impressions of the critic.

In the wealth of ancient and modern literature it is no doubt easy to find instances of critics who may be said to unite both points of view. Much of Ruskin's criticism, for instance, may be called philosophical, as based upon thought, not indeed consistent and articulate, but still genuine; while much again is the utterance of personal intuition. Still, on the whole, the distinction may be maintained. Every one feels the difference (say) between Landor, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold on the one hand, and Mr Frederic Harrison on the other. Mr Harrison, in writing of literature, never loses sight of the Comtist tradition. Mr Arnold writes with sure literary

[1] Since these essays were written I have read Usener's admirable edition of the remains of Dionysius's περὶ μιμήσεως (Bonn, Cohen, 1889). The conclusions which I had only drawn generally and in outline I now find confirmed by the close reasoning applied to the subject in the *Epistulae Criticae* added by the editor to his text.

instinct, but without reference to any definite system, unless indeed he may be said to have built up, bit by bit, a literary system of his own. Lessing based both his criticism and his dramatic creations on what he took to be the right interpretation of Aristotle. But Goethe speaks always from the fulness of his personal impression at the moment.

It is the weakness of philosophical criticism that when it leaves the hand of the master it crystallizes into a tradition, and becomes exclusive, didactic, and conventional. It has, however, a twofold source of strength. It grasps fundamental principles, and even in the narrowness of scholastic tradition, holds firmly by them. The great philosopher seizes the truth that great art and great literature are the expression of the whole moral and intellectual being of man at the crises which call it into activity. His followers may lay a pedantic stress either on the purely ethical element in good literature, as e.g. the Stoics did with Homer; or, again, they may lay too much stress on form and general excellence, and make a canon of classical writers as the Alexandrians and the later ancient critics did. But in either case the disciple is set in the right track, nor is he prevented from looking back, from the narrower position in which his teachers have placed him, to the wider field trodden by their master.

The weak point in the occasional or unsystematized criticism of poets and artists is, it need hardly be said, its fitful and personal character. It has, however, a point of strength which more than counterbalances this defect. It is simple, as springing directly from the artistic intuition, from the appreciation of art and life by genius; and it knows no limits, but embraces in a generous welcome everything which bears the stamp of merit; moreover, it is often conveyed in such beauty of expression as to be in itself an artistic creation.

Literary criticism in Latin literature, like everything else in Latin literature, had its borrowed and its original element. It is therefore necessary, in order to get at a correct appreciation of the whole matter, to begin with a few words on the Greek or borrowed element. Greek criticism had concerned itself mainly with poetry and oratory, and where it touched

history, had treated it largely from the literary point of view. With regard to poetry and oratory, the judgments of Aristotle are the most comprehensive embodiment of pure Greek feeling. The aim of tragedy is *μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας*, the representation of serious action. This is not a judgment which ran counter to the best contemporary Greek feeling, or which anticipated the feeling of modern times; rather it expresses what was generally expected of tragedy in Greek literary society. For throughout all classical antiquity it is the conduct of the action, not the psychological development of individual character, which attracts the attention of the reader or spectator. Development of character there may be in ancient poetry, but it is incidental, and subordinate to the course and demands of the action. This is a commonplace truth, so commonplace indeed as to be often forgotten by critics who insist on applying modern canons to ancient literature.

Turning to oratory, we find that with Aristotle the art of rhetoric is based upon the knowledge of human character, passion, and life in its widest sense. But Aristotle's successors did not, on the whole, maintain their criticism at this high level. It was the rules of arrangement and the principles of harmonious prose composition which mainly occupied their attention; or, to put the same thing in a historical form, Isocrates and the practical rhetoricians ousted the philosophers. It could hardly be otherwise in the case of an art which, unlike poetry, had a definite practical object, with the prospect of professional success and reward. Next to the name of Aristotle, that of Theophrastus stands out in the history of Greek literary criticism. It is to him probably that we owe the first continuous history of the origin of the different kinds of poetry and their logical arrangement. Further, it is certain that he criticized poetry in the interests of education, attempting to shew what poets it would be most useful for an orator to read who was anxious to perfect his style. Only fragments of his criticism have come down to us in express quotation, e.g. that on Herodotus and Thucydides in the *Orator* of Cicero 39. *Quo magis sunt Herodotus Thucydidesque mirabiles: quorum aetas cum in eorum tempora quos nominari incidisset, longissime*

tamen ipsi a talibus deliciis vel potius ineptiis afuerunt. Alter enim sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit, alter incitatior fertur et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodam modo bellicum, primisque ab his, ut ait Theophrastus, historia commota est, ut auderet uberius quam superiores et ornatius dicere.

Besides the name of Theophrastus, those of Aristarchus and his master Aristophanes of Byzantium must claim our attention. These great scholars, besides spending great labour on the critical study of texts, directed their attention to forming a canon or selection of the best poets (Quint. 10 1 54). *Apollonius in ordinem a grammaticis datum non venit, quia Aristarchus atque Aristophanes neminem sui temporis in ordinem redegerunt*[1]. They selected five from among the epic poets, three from the *iambographi* or writers of lampoon, and four elegiac poets. The selection had considerable influence on educational practice, but did not, of course, and could not, dominate the literary world in general.

We must not, either, omit to mention the hostile criticism of Homer of which Zoilus, the author of the Ὁμηρομάστιξ, is the chief representative. It is no doubt of no value except to amuse and to shew that the spirit of Macaulay was alive in the third century B.C. One instance will suffice. In *Il.* 23 100 Homer says ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονός, ἠΰτε κάπνος, Ὤχετο τετριγυῖα. On which Zoilus observed ἀλλ' ὁ κάπνος ἄνω φέρεται (Lehrs, Aristarchus, p. 206 : Townley Scholia *ad l.*). Nor must we pass over the ethical criticism on Homer passed in the Stoical schools, who extracted from the poet precepts of conduct, nay even rules of diet. *Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen. Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira Iliacos extra muros peccatur et intra*[2].

The whole subject of poetical composition was treated by an Alexandrian writer, Neoptolemus of Parium, of uncertain date. This essay was used by Horace as the basis of his *De Arte Poetica.* I am not aware that at present anything more is known of the rules or principles laid down by Neoptolemus

[1] See also 1 4. 3 (*grammatici*) *auctores alios in ordinem redegerunt, alios omnino exemerunt numero.* Horace's *fiet Aristarchus* (*A. P.* 450) must refer to literary criticism.

[2] Horace 1 *Epist.* 2 17.

than the translations or paraphrases of them which the ancient Horatian commentator Porphyrion points out. To judge from these the work must have been a collection of literary precepts, sensible enough but not profound, embracing (perhaps among others) the following topics: (1) An analogy between painting and poetry. (2) Self-knowledge. (3) Modesty. (4) Arrangement. (5) Words. (6) History of metre. (7) The style of Tragedy and Comedy. (8) Relations of Tragedy and Epic. (9) Comedy. (10) The general treatment of dramatic writing. (11) Acts, actors, and chorus. (12) The satyric drama. (13) The metres of drama. (14) The history of drama. (15) The moral aim of poetry.

There was also a great deal of criticism more properly to be called literary or aesthetic, which cannot now, apparently, be referred to any certain author. Of this criticism, much of which is probably older, at least, than the last century of the Roman republic, probably the best extant example is preserved in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1]. This is not the criticism of the great philosophy, but represents the tradition of the later schools, the narrow channels of which confined and distributed a part, but a part only, of the wealth of philosophic thought and suggestion.

Dionysius is in favour of raising taste and criticism from the mire into which the Greeks had allowed it to sink, and setting it again upon the elevation which it had occupied in earlier and purer days, and to which Roman feeling would naturally restore it. No careful reader of Dionysius, who studies him side by side with Cicero and Varro, can fail to carry away the impression that, although he is an original writer of perfectly independent judgment, the whole caste of his criticism is that of an older time; that he adopts much of his mode of thought and expression from the better traditions of the schools. It is therefore fair to take his writings, on the whole, as a good specimen of the best criticism of this sort. What then, briefly speaking, are its characteristics? Let us speak first of its more strictly scholastic element. In this we may notice three main tendencies: (1) to classify style under three distinct

[1] *Floruit* 29 B.C.

heads[1]: (2) to make or accept canons of the best or classical writers: (3) to write careful, but somewhat cut and dried, criticisms upon them: criticisms which seldom lack sanity, care, and insight, but which are rather dangerously suited for learning by heart and handing on to future generations of pupils.

The general, as distinguished from the scholastic, notes of this writing are, that whether it touches poetry, oratory, or history, it is mainly directed to the consideration of style; that it affects a somewhat pedantic parallelism between painting and the plastic arts on the one side, and literature on the other; and that it introduces a number of technical terms of criticism unknown at least to Plato and Aristotle. All these points will be dealt with more fully hereafter.

Meanwhile, to pass at length to Latin literature. I will first take the scholastic criticism, and state generally what seems to have been its fortune and character in the hands of Latin writers, and then try to substantiate my remarks in detail. The tendency from the second century B.C. onwards seems to have been to formulate the different styles in Latin terms, and to make a kind of canon of Latin writers, with neat characterizations of each.

The earliest existing example of this kind is the so-called canon of Volcatius Sedigitus, to be assigned, most probably, to the early first century B.C. (Gellius 15 24). *Multos incertos certare hanc rem vidimus, Palmam poetae comico cui deferant. Eum meo iudicio errorem dissolvam tibi, Ut contra si quis sentiat, nil sentiat. Caecilio palmam Statio* [*do comico*] [*? comoediae* or *comoedicam*]*: Plautus secundus facile exsuperat ceteros: Dein Naevius qui servet pretio in tertiost* (*? qui mereat pretium tertiust*). *Si erit quod quarto detur, dabitur Licinio: Post insequi Licinium facio Atilium; In sexto consequetur hos Terentius: Turpilius septimum, Trabea octavum optinet; Nono loco esse facile facio Luscium, Decimum addo causa antiquitatis Ennium.*

[1] This seems to have been applied even to Homer; Gellius 6 14 *sed ea ipsa genera dicendi iam antiquitus tradita ab Homero sunt tria in tribus; magnificum in Ulixe et ubertum, subtile in Menelao et cohibitum, mixtum moderatumque in Nestore.*

The writer of this stupid production, it will be observed, finds it necessary to make ten places for the Latin comedians, perhaps because it had been found that there were ten and no more classical orators among the Greeks. I will quote one more instance of this kind of criticism, perhaps the only one which may fairly be assigned to an age older than that of Varro: Gellius 6 14 8 tells us that Varro recognized the threefold division of style into *ἁδρὸν ἰσχνόν* and *μέσον*, giving Latin equivalents for each term. He goes on to say *animadversa eadem tripertita varietas est in tribus philosophis, quos Athenienses Romam ad senatum legaverunt impetratum uti multum remitteret quam fecerat is propter Oropi vastationem..... Erant isti philosophi Carneades ex Academia, Diogenes Stoicus, Critolaus Peripateticus. Et in senatum quidem introducti interprete usi sunt C. Acilio senatore; sed ante ipsi seorsum quisque ostentandi gratia magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt. Tum admirationi fuisse aiunt Rutilius et Polybius philosophorum trium sui cuiusque generis facundiam. Violenta, inquiunt, et rapida Carneades dicebat, scita et teretia Critolaus, modesta Diogenes et sobria.*

The context of this last passage in Gellius, coupled with the mention of the same embassy in 17 21 48 taken from the *De Poetis* of Varro, suggests that the account may come from one of Varro's numerous works on the history and criticism of literature. In any case it may be taken as a fair type of the ruder and less intelligent form of the scholastic tradition. Varro was the author of several works in which literary criticism formed, either directly or indirectly, a main element. *De Poetis*[1], *De Poematis, περὶ χαρακτήρων, De Actionibus Scaenicis, Quaestiones Plautinae.* The *De Actionibus Scaenicis* must, we must suppose, have been a technical treatise on the drama: the *Quaestiones Plautinae* were intended to sift the genuine from the spurious works of Plautus. The *De Poetis*, to judge from the quotation in Gellius 7 21 43, was a historical or biographical work on the lives of the poets. The *De Poematis* must almost

[1] In 17 21 43 foll. Gellius preserves a fragment from the first book of the *De Poetis*, giving several dates affecting Naevius, Ennius, Caecilius, Terence, Pacuvius, Accius, and Lucilius.

certainly have contained a classification of the different kinds of poetry. The *περὶ χαρακτήρων*, I am inclined to suppose (though Ritschl thinks differently), was a treatise on the different *χαρακτῆρες* or styles[1], especially the three technically described in Greek as *ἀδρόν*, *μέσον* and *ἰσχνόν*, and in Latin as *uber, mediocris, gracilis.* Gellius 6 14 says *uberi dignitas atque amplitudo est, gracili venustas et subtilitas, medius in confinio est, utriusque modi particeps...Vera autem et propria huiuscemodi formarum exempla in Latina lingua M. Varro dicit esse ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium.* Quintilian (10 1 99) quotes a saying of Varro that the Muses, in the judgment of Aelius Stilo, would have spoken in the language of Plautus had they wished to speak Latin.

In the case of a prolific writer like Varro, the enormous mass of whose work necessarily implies great haste in the composition, and frequent repetition of the same idea, it is impossible, as Ritschl has seen, to feel assured to which of his treatises the surviving fragments of his criticism respectively belong. His *saturae* too, it must be remembered, contained matter of the same kind. Nonius p. 374 quotes from the *Parmeno* the following; *in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesin Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus.* Charisius (p. 241) has preserved a similar passage, taken not from the critical treatises proper, but from the *De Sermone Latino; ἤθη, ut ait Varro De Sermone Latino, nullis aliis servare convenit, inquit, quam Titinio, Terentio, Attae: πάθη vero Trabea, Atilius, Caecilius facillime moverunt.* This passage brings me to the consideration of one much more familiar, the lines (2 *Epist.* 1 55) in which Horace sums up the criticism of the ancient poets current in his day. *Ambigitur quotiens uter utro sit prior, aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti, Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro, Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi, Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.* In these verses Horace is probably firing his parting shot at the criticisms he was made to swallow

[1] So Caecilius of Καλὴ Ἀκτή wrote *περὶ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων·* Diomedes 483: *poematos χαρακτῆρες sunt quattuor, μακρὸς βραχὺς μέσος ἀνθηρός.* Dionys. *Comp.* 21 p. 146 R. *τοὺς χαρακτῆρας (τῶν συνθέσεων), τὴν αὐστηράν, τὴν γλαφυρὰν ἢ ἀνθηράν, τὴν...κοινήν.*

in his boyhood; but whose mainly are the criticisms? The sentence about Caecilius, *vincere Caecilius gravitate*, seems to me to coincide exactly with Varro's words, *πάθη Caecilius facillime movit;* and besides Varro's labours in literary criticism we know of no other important writings in the same line which Horace would be likely to refer to, or which would have affected contemporary opinion. And the words, *ut critici dicunt*, a few lines above, may shew that he is thinking of some formal treatise on poetry. The verdict quoted on Accius and Pacuvius reminds the reader very much of what Quintilian says (10 1 97) *Accio virium plus tribuitur, Pacuvium esse doctiorem, qui esse docti adfectant, volunt.* It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Quintilian is alluding at least to the same school of criticism as Horace; nor does it much matter whether this was the criticism of Varro himself or the opinion prevalent among the scholars of Cicero's age. We can at any rate lay our finger upon its general character. It is careful to assign his place to every important poet; and there is another point to which attention must be called. As Latin literature since Naevius had adopted Greek models and Greek metres, every Latin writer of any pretensions took some Greek author as his ideal of excellence in the particular style which he was adopting. Criticism accordingly drifted into the vicious course of comparison; of pitting every Latin writer against a Greek writer, as though borrowing from a man would constitute you his rival. Thus Ennius, we have seen, was a Homer, Afranius a Menander, Plautus an Epicharmus, before the days of Horace: in Horace's time there were three Homers, Varius, Valgius, and Vergil. Cicero and Demosthenes were compared by the Greek critics in the Augustan age, and by the time of Quintilian Sallust has become the Latin Thucydides, Livy the Latin Herodotus. This is the same trifling proceeding which meets us in Plutarch's parallel lives, and which, strange to say, has shewn so much vitality as hardly yet to have disappeared altogether from the field of amateur criticism.

The work of Varro *De Poematis* was in all probability an enumeration of the different kinds of poetry, made on the basis of some post-Aristotelian work, perhaps that of Theophrastus.

We are not altogether without the means of judging what were its character and contents. The grammarian Diomedes has in his third book (p. 482 foll.) a section *De Poematis* or *De Poematibus*, which in its present form is undoubtedly at least as late as Suetonius, to whom much of it may probably be referred. The basis of it is, however, plainly much older. As Varro is quoted in it four times, it is not too much to infer that it contains a fair amount of Varronian material. Poetry is divided generally into *activum vel imitativum* (dramatic), *enarrativum vel enuntiativum* (narrative), and *commune vel mixtum* (narrative and dramatic combined). The different species of each genus are then enumerated. Most space is given to the *commune* or *mixtum*, which embraces *epos*, *elegia*, *epodi*, *satira*, and *bucolica*. Then the writer goes back to the drama, and gives an account of tragedy, comedy, the satiric drama, and the *mimus*.

So much is known, and would that more were known, of Varro's contributions to the history and criticism of poetry. We may now leave the scholastic criticism of the last century of the republic, and come to the criticism of genius, represented almost entirely by Cicero. In Cicero again we must distinguish the conventional element, which he took from the Greeks, and the original element born of his own mind. Let us first endeavour briefly to characterize the late Greek aesthetic criticism, which, so far as he followed the Greeks at all, Cicero seems to have followed here.

I would notice, in the first place, the comparison between the arts of painting and sculpture on the one hand, and literature on the other. This, as a commonplace of criticism, is at least as old as Neoptolemus of Parium: *Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam Iungere si velit &c.*[1] We must not look to these ancient writers for any profound analysis, such as Lessing attempted, of the difference between the two forms of art. With the ancients it is all superficial; *ut pictura poesis*. It may however be interesting to quote one or two passages from Dionysius, which I have no doubt are fair specimens of the style which had long been current with the best

[1] Horace, *A. P.* 1.

literary critics. (Περὶ Συνθέσεως 21 p. 146 Reiske) *οἶμαί τε ἴδιον ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ χαρακτῆρα, ὥσπερ ὄψεως, οὕτω καὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων παρακολουθεῖν, οὐ φαύλως παραδείγματι χρώμενος ζωγραφίᾳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ αὐτὰ φάρμακα λαμβάνοντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰ ζῷα γράφοντες, οὐδὲν ἐοικότα ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μίγματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν ποιητικῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἁπάσῃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι χρώμενοι πάντες οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὰ συντίθεμεν. De Isocr.* 2 (p. 541 R.) *δοκεῖ δή μοι μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι τὴν μὲν Ἰσοκράτους ῥητορικὴν τῇ Πολυκλείτου τε καὶ Φειδίου τέχνῃ, κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον καὶ ἀξιωματικόν· τὴν δὲ Λυσίου τῇ Καλάμιδος καὶ Καλλιμάχου, τῆς λεπτότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος. De Isaeo* 4 (p. 591 R.) *εἰσὶ δή τινες ἀρχαῖαι γραφαί, χρώμασι μὲν εἰργασμέναι ἁπλῶς, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς μίγμασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς, καὶ πολὺ τὸ χαρίεν ἐν ταύταις ἔχουσαι· αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνας εὔγραμμοι μὲν ἧττον, ἐξειργασμέναι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι. τούτων μὲν δὴ ταῖς ἀρχαιοτέραις ἔοικεν ὁ Λυσίας, κατὰ τὴν ἁπλότητα καὶ τὴν χάριν· ταῖς δὲ ἐκπεπονημέναις τε καὶ τεχνικωτέραις ὁ Ἴσαιος.* To shew how common, nay, how commonplace, is this form of criticism among the ancients, who are nothing if not imitative, let me quote the following passages from Cicero and Quintilian. Cic. *Orator* 36; *in picturis alios horrida, inculta, abdita, et opaca, contra alios nitida, laeta, conlustrata delectant.* Brutus 70: *quis enim eorum, qui haec minora animadvertunt, non intellegit Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta, iam tamen quae non dubites pulchra dicere; pulchriora etiam Polycliti et iam plane perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent. Similis in pictura ratio est; in qua Zeuxin et Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et lineamenta laudamus; at in Echione, Nicomacho, Protogene, Apelle, iam perfecta sunt omnia.....Odyssia Latina (Livii) est sic tamquam opus aliquod Daedali.....(Naevii) bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat.* Ib. 228: *Q. Hortensi admodum adulescentis ingenium, ut Phidiae signum, semel aspectum et probatum*

est. 261 (of Caesar): *cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum, quae, etiam si orator non sis et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est, adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tamquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine.* 298: *volvendi enim sunt libri aliorum, tum in primis Catonis. Intelleges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quae inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse.* In Quintilian (12 10 3 foll.) we have this kind of disquisition in its crudest form; *primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visenda sint, clari pictores fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velut futurae mox artis primordia maximis, qui post eos extiterunt, auctoribus praeferant, proprio quodam intellegendi, ut mea opinio est, ambitu. Post Zeuxis atque Parrhasius non multum aetate discrepantes circa Peloponnesia ambo tempora...plurimum arti addiderunt. Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque invenisse rationem, secundus examinasse subtilius lineas traditur. Nam Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius atque augustius ratus, atque, ut existimant, Homerum secutus,* &c. § 10 *In oratione vero si species intueri velis, totidem paene reperias ingeniorum quam corporum formas. Sed fuere quaedam genera dicendi condicione temporum horridiora, alioqui magnam ingenii vim prae se ferentia. Hinc sunt Laelii, Africani, Catones etiam Gracchique, quos tu licet Polygnotos vel Callonas appelles. Mediam illam formam teneant L. Crassus, Q. Hortensius,* &c.

Another point which may be noticed in this later criticism is the growth of a number of new aesthetic terms, such as *τραχύς, αὐστηρός, αὐθαδής, αὐχμηρός, εὐπινής, στρυφνός, συνεσπασμένος, ἀντίτυπος, ἀρχαϊκός, πυκνός, δεινός, συστρέφειν, ἀξιωματικός, τραγικός, σεμνός, δαιμόνιος, πνεῦμα, χάρις,* 'Αφροδίτη, *γλαφυρός, ἀνθηρός, στρογγύλος, κτενίζω, βοστρυχίζω, ἡδονή, πειθώ, ῥώμη, ἰσχύς, ἀφελής, μεγαλοφυής, μεγαλοπρεπής, περιττός*: several of which passed into the Latin of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages.

It is, however, where he leaves the beaten track that Cicero strikes into a vein more genial and more worthy of himself. Of criticism on poetry we have little from him but detached

utterances: but it is plain that his liking is for the grander and freer style of the older poets, which to the new Alexandrian school was antiquated and distasteful. To Cicero[1] Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius *non verba sed vim Graecorum expresserunt poetarum.* Of Ennius[2] he says *o poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur;* his verses on Cassandra are *poema tenerum et moratum atque molle*[3]: he is *summus poeta*[4], *ingeniosus poeta*[5], just as to Lucretius he is *Ennius noster*, the writer of *aeterni versus.* It is much to be wished that we had more of this kind from the hand of a man of genius, who was a considerable metrist himself, and only fell short of being a poet. But Cicero threw his whole strength into the criticism of oratorical prose. Here at length we get something which was new of its kind. The comparative greatness of the Roman dominion, and the large experience which was the inheritance of Roman life, opened to the Latin writers the knowledge of a world wider than that of the Greek schools and their books of history and criticism. Dionysius was not insensible of this when in his treatise περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων (2 p. 447 Reiske) he attributes to the judgment of the great Romans the return to good taste which he notices as a fact within his own experience. After complaining that the Attic Muse had been banished, as it were, from her own home (*τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπεσοῦσα ἀγαθῶν*), that the ignorant had driven out the inquiring, the insane the temperate (*ἡ ἀμαθὴς τὴν φιλόσοφον, καὶ ἡ μαινομένη τὴν σώφρονα*), he goes on to say that the ancient and temperate style of rhetoric had regained its credit. *αἰτία δ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοιαύτης μεταβολῆς ἡ πάντων κρατοῦσα Ῥώμη, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγκάζουσα τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀποβλέπειν· καὶ ταύτης τ' αὐτῆς οἱ δυναστεύοντες, κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες, εὐπαίδευτοι πάνυ καὶ γενναῖοι τὰς κρίσεις γενόμενοι.*

The rest of this essay will be devoted to Cicero as a critic. I shall endeavour to state, (1) what are the broad principles on which he bases his criticism of oratorical prose; (2) to point out by a few instances what are the marks of his critical genius in

[1] *Acad.* 1 10. [2] *Tusc.* 3 45. [3] *Div.* 1 66.
[4] *De Or.* 1 198. [5] *Mur.* 30.

detail; (3) to indicate his weakness as a critic of historical writing, and to ask how far this was due to his own position, and how far to the circumstances of his age.

(1) Cicero might fairly be judged as a critic by his Brutus alone, which is a history of Latin oratory from the earliest times to his own. The work, written in the year 46, bears evident marks of haste, and covers a large field of history. It has, consequently, obvious imperfections of form. The characterizations of the numerous orators who are passed in review are not executed with equal care. Its main importance, like that of the *Orator*, a treatise on the form of prose writing published in the same year, lies in its controversial character; or rather, in the fact that Cicero now found himself obliged to vindicate his own literary principles against a new school. As, in the field of poetry, the younger men were emphasizing the merits of the Alexandrian school, with its elaborate study of form and its love for small subjects and recondite mythology, so in the field of oratory the supremacy of Cicero and Caesar was threatened by the new Atticists represented by Calvus. The ideals of the Atticists were Lysias, for his simplicity, and Thucydides, for his condensation and intensity. Forced to defend his own position, Cicero lays down a principle which, so far as I know, had never been so clearly propounded before, and which is true for all time. This principle is, that, given fair time and opportunity, the recognition of the many is as necessary a test of excellence in an artist as that of the few. The merit which obtains the verdict of the connoisseurs only is a true merit, but it is incomplete. *Hic Atticus*[1], *Quo modo istuc dicis, inquit, 'cum tuo iudicio, tum omnium'? Semperne in oratore probando aut improbando volgi iudicium cum intellegentium iudicio congruit? an alii probantur a multitudine, alii autem ab iis qui intellegunt? Recte requiris, inquam, Attice; sed audies ex me fortasse quod non omnes probent...Etenim necesse est, qui ita dicit ut a multitudine probetur, eundem doctis probari. Nam quid in dicendo rectum sit aut pravum ego iudicabo, si modo is sum qui id possim aut sciam iudicare; qualis vero sit orator, ex eo quod quis dicendo efficiet poterit intellegi. Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego*

[1] *Brutus* § 183.

sentio, quae sint efficienda dicendo; ut doceatur is apud quem dicatur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur vehementius. Quibus virtutibus oratoris horum quidque efficiatur, aut quibus vitiis orator aut non adsequatur haec aut etiam in his labatur et cadat, artifex aliquis iudicabit. Efficiatur autem ab oratore necne, ut ei qui audiunt ita adficiantur ut orator velit, volgi adsensu et populari approbatione iudicari solet. Itaque nunquam de bono oratore aut non bono doctis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit. An censes, dum illi viguerunt quos ante dixi, non eosdem gradus oratorum volgi iudicio et doctorum fuisse? De populo si quem ita rogavisses, 'Quis est in hac civitate eloquentissimus'? in Antonio et Crasso aut dubitaret, aut hunc alius, illum alius diceret. Nemone Philippum, tam suavem oratorem, tam gravem, tam facetum, his anteferret, quem nosmetipsi, qui haec arte aliqua volumus expendere, proximum illis fuisse diximus? Nemo profecto; id enim ipsum est summi oratoris, summum oratorem populo videri. Quare tibicen Antigenidas dixerit discipulo sane frigenti ad populum 'Mihi cane et Musis'; ego huic Bruto dicenti, ut solet, apud multitudinem, 'Mihi cane et populo', mi Brute, dixerim; ut qui audiunt quid efficiatur, ego etiam cur id efficiatur intellegam. Credit eis, quae dicuntur, qui audit oratorem, vera putat, adsentitur, probat, fidem facit oratio; tu artifex quid quaeris amplius? delectatur audiens multitudo et quasi voluptate quadam perfunditur: quid habes quod disputes? gaudet, dolet, videt, plorat, favet, odit, contemnit, invidet; ad misericordiam inducitur, ad pudendum, ad pigendum; irascitur, miratur, sperat, timet; haec perinde accidunt ut eorum qui adsunt mentes verbis et sententiis et actione tractantur; quid est quod expectetur docti alicuius sententia? True, this is said of the oratorical style only; but, taken in its length and breadth, it is true of all art. When, with Handel, we see the kingdoms of the world, stroke upon stroke, broken in pieces, or when with Beethoven we share in the tears and despair of a nation which has lost its hero, it is the universality of the triumph and of the sorrow which moves us, as much as the power and sincerity of the master who represents it.

If, according to Cicero, oratory must appeal to the many as well as the few, and no distinction can be recognized in presence

of a great work, it is also necessary that a great style should combine all the elements of excellence, if it is to appeal broadly to the universal sense of beauty and grandeur, not to the artificially pampered taste of the few. *Ornatur*[1] *igitur oratio genere primum et quasi colore quodam et suco suo. Nam ut gravis, ut suavis, ut erudita sit, ut liberalis, ut admirabilis, ut polita, ut sensus, ut doloris habeat quantum opus sit, non est singulorum articulorum; in toto spectantur haec corpore. Ut porro conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fusum aequabiliter per omnem orationem, sed ita distinctum, ut sint quasi in ornatu disposita quaedam insignia et lumina. Genus igitur dicendi est eligendum, quod maxime teneat eos qui audiant, et quod non solum delectet, sed etiam sine satietate delectet; non enim a me iam expectari puto ut moneam ut caveatis, ne exilis, ne inculta sit vestra oratio, ne volgaris, ne obsoleta; aliud quiddam maius et ingenia me hortantur vestra et aetates.* Mere sweetness and prettiness cloy the senses: *difficile enim dictu est quaenam causa sit cur ea quae maxime sensus nostros impellunt voluptate, et specie prima acerrime commovent, ab iis celerrime fastidio quodam et satietate abalienemur. Quanto colorum pulchritudine et varietate floridiora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus! quae tamen, etiamsi primo aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delectant; cum iidem nos in antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur. Quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantione flexiones et falsae voculae quam certae et severae! quibus tamen non modo austeri, sed, si saepius fiunt, multitudo ipsa reclamat. Licet hoc videre in reliquis sensibus, unguentis minus diu nos delectari summa et acerrima suavitate conditis, quam his moderatis, et magis laudari quod terram quam quod crocum sapere videatur; in ipso tactu esse modum et mollitudinis et levitatis; quin etiam gustatus, qui est sensus ex omnibus maxime voluptarius, quique dulcitudine praeter ceteros sensus commovetur, quam cito id quod valde dulce est aspernatur ac respuit!... Qua re 'bene et praeclare' quamvis saepe nobis dicatur; 'belle et festive' nimium saepe nolo; quamquam illa ipsa exclamatio 'non potest melius' sit velim crebra; sed habeat tamen illa in dicendo admiratio ac summa laus umbram ali-*

[1] *De Oratore* 3 § 96.

quam et recessum, quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur.

Cicero is no philosopher, nor indeed could the Romans, to whom philosophy in the real sense was little known except as a lesson of doctrines learned from the Greeks, have based their criticism on its principles. But Cicero makes up to a certain extent for this deficiency by his wide grasp of facts. The instinct of genius, trained and strengthened by long experience, but never forgetting itself, gave him the sympathy which enabled him to perceive the connection between the inarticulate feeling of the multitude and the reasoned judgment of educated men. His criticism is that of the trained scholar, whose technical knowledge is penetrated and transformed by living insight, and sense of reality.

(2) If this is the general character of Cicero's criticism, it will be interesting to quote instances in detail of the power which makes his utterances a new creation. If I am not mistaken, his real self appears with more genuine power and impressiveness in these criticisms than in anything which he has left us. This must be my excuse for quoting from them at some length. While they reveal the real genius of Cicero, they are also a monument of the expressive power of the Latin language.

On Galba. (*Brutus* § 93.) *Quem fortasse vis non ingeni solum sed etiam animi et naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque ut et incitata et gravis et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tamquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio. Quod eis qui limatius dicendi consectantur genus accidere non solet, propterea quod prudentia numquam deficit oratorem, qua ille utens eodem modo possit et dicere et scribere; ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris extinguitur. Hanc igitur ob causam videtur Laeli mens spirare etiam in scriptis, Galbae autem vis occidisse.*

§ 125 (Gaius Gracchus). *Sed ecce in manibus vir et praestantissimo ingenio et flagranti studio et doctus a puero, Gaius Gracchus. Noli enim putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse. Et ille, 'Sic prorsus,' inquit, 'existimo, atque istum de superioribus paene solum lego.' Immo*

plane, inquam, Brute, legas censeo. Damnum enim illius immaturo interitu res Romanae Latinaeque litterae fecerunt. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem quam patriae praestare voluisset! Quam ille facile tali ingenio, diutius si vixisset, vel paternam esset vel avitam gloriam consecutus! Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem. Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis; manus extrema non accessit operibus eius; praeclare incohata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus, inquam, est hic orator, Brute, si quisquam alius, iuventuti; non enim solum acuere, sed etiam alere ingenium potest.

139 (Antonius). *Omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; eaque suo quaeque loco, ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent, ut ab imperatore equites, pedites, levis armatura, sic ab illo in maxime opportunis orationis partibus collocabantur. Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio; imparatus semper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur, sed ita erat paratus, ut iudices illo dicente nonnumquam viderentur non satis parati ad cavendum fuisse. Verba ipsa, non illa quidem elegantissimo sermone; itaque diligenter loquendi laude caruit, neque tamen est admodum inquinate locutus. Nam ipsum Latine loqui est illud quidem, ut paulo ante dixi, in magna laude ponendum, sed non tam sua sponte, quam quod est a plerisque neglectum; non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire, neque tam id mihi oratoris boni quam civis Romani proprium videtur. Sed tamen Antonius in verbis et eligendis (neque id ipsum tam leporis causa quam ponderis,) et collocandis et comprehensione devinciendis nihil non ad rationem et tamquam ad artem derigebat: verum multo magis hoc idem in sententiarum ornamentis et conformationibus. Quo genere quia praestat omnibus Demosthenes, idcirco a doctis oratorum est princeps iudicatus.* Σχήματα *enim quae vocant Graeci, ea maxime ornant oratorem, quae non tam in verbis pingendis habent pondus, quam in illuminandis sententiis. Sed cum haec magna in Antonio, tum actio singularis; quae si partienda est in gestum atque vocem, gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sententiis congruens, manus, umeri, latera, supplosio pedis, status, incessus, omnisque motus; vox permanens, verum subrauca natura. Sed hoc vitium huic uni in bonum convertebat. Habebat enim flebile quiddam in*

questionibus aptumque cum ad fidem faciendam tum ad misericordiam commovendam; ut verum videretur in hoc illud, quod Demosthenem ferunt ei, qui quaesivisset quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem, quid secundum, idem, et idem tertium respondisse. Nulla res magis penetrat in animos, eosque fingit, format, flectit, talesque oratores videri facit quales ipsi se videri volunt.

143 (Crassus). *Huic alii parem esse dicebant, alii anteponebant L. Crassum. Illud quidem certe omnes ita iudicabant, neminem esse qui horum altero uno patrono cuiusquam ingenium requireret. Equidem quamquam Antonio tantum tribuo quantum supra dixi, tamen Crasso nihil statuo fieri potuisse perfectius. Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, lepos; Latine loquendi accurata, et sine molestia diligens elegantia; in disserendo mira explicatio; cum de iure civili, cum de aequo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia. Nam ut Antonius coniectura movenda, aut sedanda suspicione aut excitanda incredibilem vim habebat, sic in interpretando, in definiendo, in explicanda aequitate nihil erat Crasso copiosius; idque cum saepe alias tum apud centumviros in M'. Curi causa cognitum est.*

148 (Scaevola and Crassus). *Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scaevola parcorum elegantissimus; Crassus in summa comitate habebat etiam severitatis satis, Scaevolae multa in severitate non deerat tamen comitas. Licet omnia hoc modo; sed vereor, ne fingi videantur haec ut dicantur a me quodam modo; res tamen sic se habet. Cum omnis virtus sit, ut vestra, Brute, vetus Academia dixit, mediocritas, uterque horum medium quiddam volebat sequi; sed ita cadebat, ut alter ex alterius laude partem, uterque autem suam totam haberet.*

201 (Cotta and Sulpicius). *Quoniam ergo oratorum bonorum —hos enim quaerimus—duo genera sunt, unum attenuate presseque, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium; etsi id melius est, quod splendidius et magnificentius, tamen in bonis omnia quae summa sunt iure laudantur. Sed cavenda est presso illi oratori inopia et ieiunitas, amplo autem inflatum et corruptum orationis genus. Inveniebat igitur acute Cotta, dicebat pure ac solute; et ut ad infirmitatem laterum perscienter contentionem omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Ni-*

hil erat in eius oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum atque sanum; illudque maximum, quod cum contentione orationis flectere animos iudicum vix posset nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat ut idem facerent a se commoti, quod a Sulpicio concitati. Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis et ut ita dicam tragicus orator. Vox cum magna tum suavis et splendida; gestus et motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad scaenam institutus videretur; incitata et volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen nec circumfluens oratio.

261 (Caesar). *Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quae, etiamsi orator non sis et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tamquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat praecipuam laudem, in communibus non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quandam minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce motu forma etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo. Tum Brutus: Orationes quidem eius mihi vehementer probantur; complures autem legi, atque etiam commentarios quos scripsit rerum suarum. Valde quidem, inquam, probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta. Sed dum voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere; sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit, nihil est enim in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius.*

274 (Calidius). *Sed de M. Calidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus e multis, potius inter multos prope singularis fuit: ita reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quam eius comprehensio verborum, nihil tam flexibile, nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris aeque in potestate fuerit; quae primum ita pura erat ut nihil liquidius, ita libere fluebat, ut nusquam adharesceret. Nullum nisi loco positum et tamquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum videres; nec vero ullum aut durum aut insolens aut humile aut longius ductum:*

ac non propria verba rerum, sed pleraque translata, sic tamen ut ea non irruisse in alienum locum, sed immigrasse in suum diceres; nec vero haec soluta nec diffluentia, sed astricta numeris non aperte nec eodem modo semper, sed varie dissimulanterque conclusis. Erant autem et verborum et sententiarum illa lumina, quae vocant Graeci σχήματα, quibus tamquam insignibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio...Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, actio liberalis, totumque dicendi placidum et sanum genus. Quodsi est optimum suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quaerendum putes. Sed cum a nobis paulo ante dictum sit, tria videri esse quae orator efficere debet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret: duo summe tenuit, ut et rem illustraret disserendo et animos eorum, qui audirent, devinceret voluptate; aberat tertia illa laus, qua permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus, neque erat ulla vis atque contentio: sive consilio, quod eos, quorum altior oratio actioque esset ardentior, furere et bacchari arbitraretur, sive quod natura non esset ita factus, sive quod non consuesset, sive quod non posset. Hoc unum illi, si nihil utilitatis habebat, abfuit; si opus erat, defuit.

301 (Hortensius). *Primum memoria tanta (erat), quantam in nullo cognovisse me arbitror, ut, quae secum commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis eisdem redderet, quibus cogitavisset. Hoc adiumento ille tanto sic utebatur, ut sua et commentata et scripta et nullo referente omnia adversariorum dicta meminisset. Ardebat autem cupiditate sic, ut in nullo umquam flagrantius studium viderim. Nullum enim patiebatur esse diem, quin aut in foro diceret aut meditaretur extra forum; saepissime autem eodem die utrumque faciebat. Attuleratque minime volgare genus dicendi; duas quidem res, quas nemo alius; partitiones, quibus de rebus dicturus esset, et collectiones eorum quae essent dicta contra quaeque ipse dixisset. Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus; eaque erat cum summo ingenio tum exercitationibus maximis consecutus. Rem complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acute, nec praetermittebat fere quicquam quod esset in causa aut ad confirmandum aut ad refellendum. Vox canora et suavis, motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori satis.*

It will have been noticed that the method of Cicero's

criticism is a very simple one. It is to summarize in terse expressions the literary qualities of the speakers whom he passes in review, with little preface, and no attempt, such as a modern writer would make, to set their productions in their historical framework, or to trace the growth of style in its historical development. But in this Cicero is only the child of his time. He follows in the same track as the Greek critics, in all probability, had done before him, as undoubtedly Dionysius and the author of the περὶ ὕψους did after him. What is Cicero's own, and what should make these criticisms immortal, is their genius, their fulness of light, the perfect mastery of the writer over his thoughts, his power of moulding the Latin language to his purpose, the self-control which forbids him to use a word too much. His usual prolixity is thrown aside, and he returns to obey the true laws of expression. As a critic, Cicero can write with all Tacitus's terseness, and without any of Tacitus's affectation.

(3) In the *De Legibus*[1] (1 § 5) Atticus says to Cicero *postulatur a te iam diu flagitatur vel potius historia. Sic enim putant, te illam tractante effici posse ut in hoc etiam genere Graeciae nihil cedamus. Atque ut audias quid ego ipse sentiam, non solum mihi videris eorum studiis qui litteris delectantur, sed etiam patriae debere hoc munus, ut ea, quae salva per te est, per te eundem sit ornata. Abest enim historia litteris nostris, ut et ipse intellego et ex te persaepe audio. Potes autem tu profecto satis facere in ea, quippe cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem videri solet, unum hoc oratorium maxime.* We must, after all, pause before we laugh at the weakness and shallowness of this passage, for in the remarkable words *opus (historici) est unum oratorium maxime* Cicero sums up, not his own view only, but one which was very widely prevalent in antiquity. The rhetoricians, in fact, claimed history as part of their province, and their criticism was naturally directed only to the form of writing, ignoring the whole question of research and philosophical treatment. Hence it was observed as a remarkable fact about Theopompus and Ephorus, that they had been pupils of Isocrates. Transplant this notion to Rome, where

[1] See also *De Orat.* 2 51 foll.

not only was rhetoric an important branch of education, but every circumstance of public life favoured the development of the great style of oratory, and it is easy to see how style came to be regarded as the main merit of the historian. To be a great statesman at Rome it was necessary, besides being a soldier, to be an orator; a master not only of the cultivated style which would appeal to the forty or fifty educated senators and *equites* who might meet to try a case in a court of law, but of the broader effects which alone could make an impression upon the great *contiones*. Oratory (not rhetoric) bade fair in the hands of a comprehensive genius like Cicero to absorb the whole field of knowledge and education. To Cicero, if we may trust him in the *De Oratore*, knowledge is the necessary condition of eloquence, but knowledge must be subservient to eloquence. One can hardly complain of him for adopting a point of view which after all was the prevalent one with the mass of educated men in classical antiquity. For with them literature was subordinate to life. The idea of investigation, of painful study, undertaken merely for the sake of ascertaining the truth in regions of fact such as history or natural science, was comparatively unfamiliar to the literary aristocracies who ruled the ancient Graeco-Roman world. One might perhaps have expected it to be developed either in the schools of the philosophers or among the *grammatici* or scholars. But the centre of gravity of philosophy shifted, since the time of Aristotle, more and more towards problems of speculative ethics; while scholarship satisfied itself with verbal and textual criticism. Nothing gives a better indication of the manner in which the ancient world as a whole conceived the duty of a historian, than the fact that Livy's history of Rome, the defects of which are now familiarly known to every industrious sixth-form schoolboy, was generally accepted as satisfactory, and only superseded by abridgments of itself.

What therefore Cicero desired in the matter of history was not a profound critical work investigating the origin and development of the Roman constitution. Can it be said that any of his contemporaries could have had this idea? It would be as reasonable to expect that they would have proposed the

abolition of slavery, or devised a system of representative government. Cicero wanted a history of Rome written in a luminous narrative style, with due regard to literary form and with striking rhetorical illustrations of Roman manners and character, subsidiary no doubt to the main idea of celebrating the growth of the Roman empire. This was all that lay within his power; nor is it too much to say that had he been granted the leisure to execute it, the task would not have been beyond his capacity, if we may judge by the specimens of historical narrative which he has left in the *De Re Publica* and *De Legibus*.

This short survey of the literary criticism of the Ciceronian age may be closed with the observation that its original genius, so far as the surviving books allow us to judge, was Cicero; and that Cicero, in his criticisms on oratorical prose, not merely left proofs of his power which are in themselves gems of their kind, but laid down principles and adopted an attitude which have a wide significance for artistic criticism in general, as well as for the special branch of literature with which he was concerned; finally, that his faulty judgment in regard to history was, when the circumstances of his age are considered, not only excusable but inevitable. In the following essay I shall endeavour to sketch the history of literary criticism in Latin from Horace to Tacitus.

II.

The change of tone which strikes us at once on passing from the criticism of the Ciceronian to that of the Augustan age was, as we saw in the last essay, partly prepared by the Alexandrian and so-called Attic tendency, headed, to all appearance, by Calvus and his friends, which roused Cicero to a public assertion of his own principles in the *Brutus* and the *Orator*. The Alexandrian school liked obscure subjects, short poems, long preparation, elaborate workmanship: the so-called Atticists professed a passion for purity, simplicity and condensation. Cicero cared more for breadth, grasp and general inspiration, than for perfection in detail. Horace, and the school or society to which he belonged, that of Varius and Vergil, no doubt

sympathized, so far as feeling for finish and preparation went, with the Alexandrians as against Varro and Cicero.

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Horace, who sneers at Calvus and Catullus, was a thorough partisan, or even a partisan at all, of the Alexandrian set. His ideal is not Alexandria, but Greece; Greece as in the spirit and form of art the true mistress of Rome. He is as patriotic a Roman as Cicero, as anxious to serve the literary interests of his country. He feels indeed that the lessons to be learned from Greece have not yet been exhausted, and that they must be exhausted before the Latin writer could shew any masterpieces to equal their models; but it is of Latin literature that he is thinking. The Alexandrian school, he may well have thought, was impotent to produce more than translation, imitation, and paraphrase; of but little avail to Latin literature in the proper sense. This his unrivalled sense and literary tact would at once enable him to discover, supported as it was by his knowledge of life and its realities. For Horace was no mere student. He had seen much of the rough side of life in his youth, and had taken of mankind in general such measure as a man of more shrewdness and character than sympathetic power would take under the circumstances. His mind was versatile and many-sided, and so was his poetry. Lampoon, *satura*, epistles, and lyric in its highest flights,—nothing came amiss to him. The centre of his taste, his point of judgment, is the firm and unalterable instinct of the cultured man of the world. Hence the ease and sureness with which he takes up his critical attitude, whether he is speaking of satire or lyric or epic or the drama.

The earliest critical utterances of Horace are to be found in his *Saturae*, the fourth and tenth of the first book. Here, under the form of polemic against Lucilius, he asserts his own sound, if too exclusive, principle. The *satura* of Lucilius was too hasty, too slovenly, to be taken as a model for this form of composition. And, again, the Old Attic Comedy is not the only type for the Latin writer of *saturae*, who should preserve the wider traditions of that form of writing. In general, indeed, says Horace, do not suppose poetry is a matter for the crowd.

It is the gift and privilege of the few[1]; *neque enim concludere versum Dixeris esse satis, neque si quis scribat uti nos Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam. Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os Magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem. ...Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos...Nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus...Satis est equitem mihi plaudere.*

But some ten years later Horace took the opportunity of expressing his views in the form of a regular treatise, the *Epistula ad Pisones*. The Greek framework of this piece was the treatise of Neoptolemus of Parium, of which I have already given some account (p. 228). If we try to penetrate Horace's motive in going back upon this formal essay and applying it to the circumstances of literary Rome as he knew it, we may discover a fresh interest in what at first sight seems a dry collection of commonplaces. Leaving the Greek rules, let us take as worthy of special attention the Latin applications. These fall under some five heads.

(1) 45—72. Horace claims for himself and his friends that they be allowed the same liberty in coining new words as has always been conceded to his predecessors: *Quid autem Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur, acquirere pauca Si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni Sermonem patrium ditaverit, et nova rerum Nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit Signatum praesente nota procudere nomen.*

(2) 133—135. He cautions the Latin poet who translates or paraphrases from the Greek against an over-anxiety to be literal, or to bind himself strictly to the plan and character of his original. *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus Interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum, Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.* In his general treatment let him look to Homer, not to the conventional later epic: *Nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim, 'Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'*

(3) 234—250. Hints as to the handling of the satyric drama on the Roman stage. The language of the *Fauni* or *Satyri* should be of a colour between that of the tragic and the comic stage: Silenus should not talk in the manner of Davus.

[1] 1 4 40.

(4) The treatment of the dramatic iambic. 250—274. The old metre of Ennius and Plautus is to be discarded, and far more care taken that the iambus should be treated as a foot consisting of a short and a long syllable.

(5) General warnings. 325—333. Poetry is not to be taken up lightly; nor again is it to be supposed that inspiration without sense will be sufficient. Beware of corrupting social influences and the love of money (382—390): nothing but the combination of industry and judgment with genius will effect anything (365—390: 419 to the end).

Putting aside the visible irritation of Horace against the formal critics of the older school and the smarts left by Orbilius's cane; putting aside also his well-justified contempt for the crowd of writers who were taking up poetry merely because it was fashionable to do so; what must we suppose were the motives which induced him to go back upon the treatise of Neoptolemus, or whatever Greek work or works formed the basis of the *De Arte Poetica?* The answer probably is, that being dissatisfied both with the critical principles of the Ciceronian age as represented by Varro and Cicero, and with the petty industry and conceits of the Alexandrians, he wished to recall his countrymen to the critical canons on which the great works of Hellas seemed to be based. That he should not have gone back directly to Aristotle instead of to an author who probably only embodied Aristotelian precepts at second or third hand, may at first sight appear surprising. But it is, in fact, not more surprising than that Cicero should (as he does) have recourse, for the great mass of his philosophy, not directly to Plato or Aristotle, but to their degenerate successors. It may also be that the minute rules laid down by Horace's authority were better fitted to give an air of precision to his work than the broader principles of Aristotle. However this may be, I would suggest that Horace's chief aim in the *De Arte Poetica* is to recall his countrymen to the thoughts and mind of the great Greek masters in their length and breadth: *Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui. Vos exemplaria Graeca Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.*

He takes up the same text, but treats it with riper judgment

and in a less scholastic tone, in the two epistles of the second book. These are the best of Horace's critical utterances. The pedantic framework of Greek texts and Greek words has disappeared, and the genius of the poet speaks unfettered. The theme is, again, the rights of himself and his school; mere antiquity is nothing; nothing will excuse the lack of finish; a fine line or fine word here and there will not compensate for general carelessness; and more of the same kind which it is unnecessary to repeat here. For it is Horace's incomparable manner, his ease and the sureness of his tread, which really interests the reader of these two epistles. What can be more beautiful in its way than the following (2 *Ep.* 2 109—125)? *At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti; Audebit, quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt Et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur Verba, movere loco, quamvis invita recedant, Et versentur adhuc inter penetralia Vestae; Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum, Quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas; Adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus; Vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni Fundet opes, Latiumque beabit divite lingua: Luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet, Ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.*

If the sane judgment of Horace sometimes lacks sympathy and generosity, especially when he is speaking of the older poets admired by Varro and Cicero and Orbilius, the defect is amply supplied by Ovid. His luxuriant genius was naturally combined with a comprehensive sympathy, which refused to excommunicate the real poets of any age or style[1]; *Ennius arte carens, animosique Accius oris, Casurum nullo tempore nomen habent: Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas, Aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci? Carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti, Exitio terras cum dabit una dies: Tityrus et fruges Aeneiaque arma legentur, Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit.* Or again[2], *Utque suo Martem cecinit gravis Ennius ore, Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis, Explicat et causas*

[1] *Am.* 1 15 19. [2] *Trist.* 2 423.

rapidi Lucretius ignis Casurumque triplex vaticinatur opus. One cannot but admire, as in the case of Cicero, the generous desire to recognize merit, the perfect mastery of critical language, the rapid flowing manner, half concealing the delicate care with which each weighty expression is wrought out.

As Homer was attacked by Zoilus, so Vergil was criticised by Carvilius Pictor in his *Aeneidomastix*, and in the same spirit of petty cavil. None the less did Vergil and Horace become classics soon after their death. The result was that they drove out the taste for the older poets, and even for the writers of the Ciceronian age. Not that there were not many antiquarians or lovers of the ancients among the Roman *litterati* as long as Latin literature existed. But the new school carried with it, during the first century, many of the most genial minds. To Persius, for instance, the love of Pacuvius and Accius is a mere morbid survival[1]: *Est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Acci, Sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta.* If Persius only once says in terms that Horace is his ideal, his constant imitation of him—for it must always be remembered that in the ancient world to imitate a poet was to shew one's admiration of him—is a living witness to the fact. Lucan's *Pharsalia* teems with imitations of Vergil; may not then Lucan and Persius be taken respectively as representatives of the Vergilian and Horatian schools?

It is worth while to ask in this place whether Eumolpus, the poet in Petronius, may not be taken as a representative of the serious school whose champions, during the age of Nero, were Persius in satire, Lucan in epic, and Seneca in tragedy. No Latin satirist, so far as we can judge from the remains, approaches Petronius in delicacy of *innuendo*: and it requires some careful reading to discern what I believe is now hardly disputed, that the hexameters of Eumolpus on the civil war are a parody of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. His iambics on the *Troiae Halosis* seem to me to be no less clearly a parody of Seneca. Now Eumolpus is a declared admirer of the Vergilian and Horatian school[2]; *Multos (inquit Eumolpus) carmen decepit. Nam ut quisque versum pedibus instruxit sensumque teneriorem*

[1] 1 76. [2] Petronius 118.

verborum ambitu intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse. Sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad carminis tranquillitatem tamquam ad portum feliciorem refugerunt, credentes facilius poema extrui posse quam controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam. Ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat, neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingenti flumine litterarum inundata. Refugiendum est ab omni verborum, ut ita dicam, vilitate, et sumendae voces a plebe semotae, ut fiat 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo'. Praeterea curandum est ne sententiae emineant extra corpus orationis expressae, sed intexto vestibus colore niteant. Homerus testis et lyrici Romanusque Vergilius et Horatii curiosa felicitas. Observe the direct contradiction in these words to Cicero's deliverance[1]; *ut porro conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fusum aequabiliter per omnem orationem, sed ita distinctum, ut sint quasi in ornatu disposita quaedam insignia et lumina.* The true poet, according to Eumolpus, must be a deep student of literature; every sentence must be thought out, and the tissue of the composition consciously interwoven with the fibres of older writing; there must be nothing careless, no brave neglect, but all must be a delicate web of rich and carefully wrought colours. Now in his first satire Persius takes up somewhat the same parable. Poetry, he complains, is thought an easy matter[2]: *Ecce modo heroas sensus adferre videmus Nugari solitos Graece, nec ponere lucum Artifices, nec rus saturum laudare;...In udo est Maenas et Attis, Nec pluteum caedit, nec demorsos sapit ungues.* All that is wanted is to write verses, anyhow, so that they are written, and to give good dinners and ask your friends to come and applaud. This serious, perhaps over-serious, tone is probably what Petronius is personifying in the character of Eumolpus, as he certainly seems to be in another passage, which reminds the reader strangely of Persius. This is the eighty-eighth chapter, where Eumolpus delivers a sermon on the current lack of true philosophy and religion. *Ubi est dialectica, ubi astronomia, ubi sapientiae cultissima via? Quis unquam venit in templum, et votum fecit 'si ad eloquentiam pervenisset'? Quis 'si philosophiae*

[1] *De Oratore* 3 96. [2] 1 68.

fontem attigisset'? Ac ne bonam quidem mentem aut bonam valetudinem petunt, sed statim antequam limen Capitolii tangant, alius donum promittit si propinquum diritem extulerit, alius si thesaurum effoderit, alius si ad trecentiens sestertium salvus pervenerit. Ipse senatus, recti bonique praeceptor, mille pondo auri Capitolio promittere solet, et ne quis dubitet pecuniam concupiscere, Iovem quoque peculio exornat. This may almost be described as a prose version of Persius 2 8—14, 55—60, 67—70. '*Mens bona, fama, fides*', *haec clare et ut audiat hospes: Illa sibi introrsum et sub lingua immurmurat, 'O si Ebulliat patrnus, praeclarum funus' et 'O si Sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria dextro Hercule! pupillumve utinam, quem proximus heres Impello, expungam'.—Hinc illud subiit, auro sacras quod ovato Perducis facies...Aurum vasa Numae Saturniaque impulit aera, Vestalisque urnas et Tuscum fictile mutat— O curvae in terras animae et caelestium inanes! Quid iuvat hoc, templis nostros immittere mores Et bona dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa?...At vos Dicite, pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?*

In corroboration of this view it may be added that Petronius in his *satura* adopts the form of the Varronian *satura Menippea*, the genuine medley of prose and verse, the genuine literary drama with its various characters. He does not write in hexameters, like Horace and his imitator Persius. In fact, he does not like the Vergilian and Horatian school as represented by the serious Stoical poets, Lucan, Persius, and Seneca. Would that more of his *satura* had survived, and that he could have told us definitely whether his heart was, as I suspect, and as he seems to hint in his first chapter, with Varro and Cicero.

The sharp conflict between the Ciceronians and anti-Ciceronians, the enemies of the new educational method based on *declamatio*, and its champions, are clearly enough described in the first two chapters of Petronius. They are to a certain extent toned down in Quintilian, who, however, on the whole throws the weight of his authority against the modern tendency. Before proceeding to examine his literary criticism in detail, it is necessary to say a few words on his position at Rome, which,

to a certain extent, seems to have influenced his attitude as a critic.

M. Fabius Quintilianus was born at Calagurris in Spain about 35 A.D. But he passed his youth and most of the remaining part of his life in Rome, where his father was by profession a teacher of rhetoric. He himself was an active pleader in the courts, and a professor (probably the most celebrated in Rome) of declamation and eloquence. In the year 88 (*aet.* 53) he was placed at the head of the first state-supported (*publica*) school in Rome, with a salary from the public treasury. His great work, the *Institutio Oratoria*, was begun probably in his fifty-sixth year, having been preceded by a smaller book *De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae*, or the reasons of the decline in prose writing.

The *Institutio Oratoria* is thus the work of a man qualified by every external circumstance for his task. Quintilian had full experience both of life and education; he was thoroughly familiar, not only with every detail of the ordinary educational *curriculum*, and the technicalities of declamation, but also with the practice of the courts. The most talented youths in Rome, such men as Tacitus and the younger Pliny, were his pupils.

John Stuart Mill called the *Institutio Oratoria* a great work; and a modern reader must undoubtedly admire not only its good sense and manly tone, but its breadth of conception, and the depth and variety of educational principles brought to bear upon the one point, the education of a speaker. Quintilian writes with a full mind and a complete devotion to his profession. But what I tried to point out with regard to Cicero is still truer of Quintilian. In his view oratory includes the whole of literary education. It is the Ciceronian ideal, worked out with more system, and in fuller and more practical detail, than was possible to Cicero. Oratory is the great liberal profession, the profession of the lawyer, senator, and statesman; let it then be made to cover the whole field of literature. This is Quintilian's idea, not an ignoble one; and from it proceeds whatever is strong and weak in his literary criticism.

Quintilian is by no means indifferent to the ethical element in literary or oratorical performance. A great orator, to him

as to Cato, is *vir bonus dicendi peritus.* After reading the gross flattery which he administers to Domitian not only as an able administrator and general but as a literary man[1] one is somewhat surprised at the boldness of his moral pronouncement[2] *ne futurum quidem oratorem nisi virum bonum: ne studiis quidem operis pulcherrimi vacare mens nisi omnibus vitiis libera potest.* But it is fair to remember that in the narrower sense of the word there seems to be no doubt that the morality of Quintilian was unimpeachable; and this is something when we recall what is said of Remmius Palaemon and Hamillus. Again, Quintilian expressly says that he is speaking rather of his ideal than of any probable reality: *cum proprie et ad legem ipsam veritatis loquendum erit, eum quaero oratorem quem et ille (Cicero) quaerebat.* Practically, he says, one must judge of a great orator by his motive and general intention. Even if Demosthenes and Cicero are chargeable with the faults alleged against them by their enemies, it must be said that the public career of Demosthenes compensated for his shortcomings, and that Cicero was never lacking in the *voluntas boni civis.* Granting this, an indulgent casuistry will allow some freedom to a great orator: *da nunc ut crimine manifesto prematur dux bonus, et sine quo vincere hostem civitas non possit, nonne ei communis utilitas oratorem advocabit?*

All this, perhaps, would hardly be worth quoting were it not that Quintilian's somewhat pretentious moral overture leads us to expect something more than a mere recurrence to the ordinary canons of human judgment. One would be glad to know whether he would have thought it a necessary virtue in a *bonus grammaticus* to read and conscientiously study the Greek authors on whom he passes formal critical judgments. For it is, alas! too plain that, whether Quintilian had or had not read them, he contents himself in many cases with merely repeating the traditional criticisms of the Greek schools upon some of the principal Greek authors.

In the first chapter of his tenth book Quintilian proposes a course of reading calculated to form the taste of a young man

[1] Preface to the fourth book, and 10 1 91. [2] 12 1 3, 4, 19, 14, 43.

aspiring to success as a speaker. The list of books falls into two parts, the first of which comprises the Greek, the second the Latin classics. The order observed in both parts is the same, viz. poetry, the drama, history, oratory, and philosophy. And in both Quintilian represents himself as ranking his authors in order of merit (*ordinem ducere*).

In the case of the first list, or list of Greek authors, he gives his readers fair warning that he is only repeating other people's criticisms, not pronouncing his own. In § 27 he mentions Theophrastus by name; in § 52, speaking of Hesiod, he says *datur ei palma* &c.: in § 53, the second place is given to Antimachus by the consent of the *grammatici*: Panyasis is thought (*putant*) *in eloquendo neutrius aequare virtutes.* Callimachus (58) *princeps habetur* (*elegiae*), *secundas confessione plurimorum Philetas occupavit.* In 59 only three *iambographi* are mentioned, those, namely, who were allowed by Aristarchus. The *novem lyrici* were probably also a selection of Aristarchus: in any case they are the *Pindarus novemque lyrici* (for this need not be taken to mean strictly ten) of Petronius's first chapter.

It will be worth while to go as far as possible towards ascertaining from what source or sources Quintilian took his borrowed criticisms. The first step is to compare them in detail with those contained in the second book of the περὶ μιμήσεως, or, as it used to be called, *De Veterum Censura*, of Dionysius. The remains of this work only survive in a fragmentary epitome; but it is quite clear from the coincidences between what survives and the criticisms of Quintilian either that Quintilian has borrowed from a fuller version of Dionysius, or that both authors are using an older authority. From the fact that Dionysius, though mentioned elsewhere by Quintilian, is never alluded to in this context, I am disposed to conclude that the last is the truth. Let us compare Dionysius and Quintilian in detail.

(Homer). Dionysius περὶ μιμήσεως 2 p. 19 Usener: τῆς μὲν Ὁμηρικῆς ποιήσεως οὐ μίαν τινὰ τοῦ σώματος μοῖραν, ἀλλ' ἐκτύπωσαι τὸ σύμπαν, καὶ λάβε ζῆλον ἠθῶν τε τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παθῶν, καὶ μεγέθους, καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν, εἰς ἀληθῆ τὴν παρά σοι μίμησιν, ἠλλαγμένων. Quin-

tilian 10 1 46 *hic enim, quemadmodum ex Oceano dicit ipse omnium amnium fontiumque cursus initium capere, omnibus eloquentiae partibus exemplum et ortum dedit...Adfectus quidem vel illos mites vel hos concitatos nemo erit tam indoctus qui non in sua potestate hunc auctorem habuisse fateatur...(Auditorem)... intentum proposita rerum magnitudine...facit. In...dispositione totius operis nonne humani ingenii modum excedit?...ut magnum sit virtutes eius non aemulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu sequi.* The points common to both writers here are (*a*) that Homer is admirable in every respect, not in one only: (*b*) that he is a master in particular of the ἤθη and πάθη, of μέγεθος, and of οἰκονομία. Compare Ovid's *Aspice Maeoniden, a quo, ceu fonte perenni, Pieridum vates orta rigantur aqua.*

(Hesiod). Dionysius p. 19. Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν ἡδονῆς καὶ ὀνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς. Quintilian 52 *raro adsurgit Hesiodus, magnaque pars eius in nominibus est occupata; tamen utiles circa praecepta sententiae levitasque verborum et compositionis probabilis, daturque ei palma in illo medio genere dicendi.*

(Antimachus). Dionysius l.c. Ἀντίμαχος δ' εὐτονίας καὶ ἀγωνιστικῆς τραχύτητος καὶ τοῦ συνήθους τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς. Quintilian 52 *contra in Antimacho vis et gravitas et minime vulgare eloquendi genus habet laudem. Sed quamvis ei secundas fere grammaticorum consensus deferat, et affectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat, quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum.*

(Panyasis). Dionysius l.c. Πανύασις δὲ τὰς τ' ἀμφοῖν ἀρετὰς ἠνέγκατο καὶ αὐτῶν πραγματείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ διήνεγκεν. Quintilian 54 *Panyasin ex utroque mixtum putant in eloquendo neutriusque aequare virtutes, alterum tamen ab eo materia, alterum disponendi ratione superari.*

So far it seems clear that both Quintilian and Dionysius are following the *grammatici*, i.e. probably Aristarchus and Aristophanes. The passage about Panyasis is very important as bearing on this point: Quintilian, while saying evidently much the same as Dionysius, says not *putat Dionysius* but *putant.*

After this Quintilian has some criticisms which are not in Dionysius, viz. on Archilochus, Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus,

Theocritus, Pisander, Nicander, Euphorion, Tyrtaeus, Callimachus, and Philetas.

(Pindar). Dionysius l.c. *Ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων ἕνεκα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ τόνου καὶ περιουσίας καὶ κατασκευῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πικρίας μετὰ ἡδονῆς, καὶ πυκνότητος καὶ σεμνότητος καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ σχηματισμῶν καὶ ἠθοποιΐας καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ δεινώσεως· μάλιστα δὲ τῶν εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἠθῶν.* Quintilian 61. *novem lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps spiritus magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia, et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine.*

(Simonides). Dionysius, p. 20. *Σιμωνίδου δὲ παρατήρει τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· πρὸς τούτοις, καθ' ὃ βελτίων εὑρίσκεται καὶ Πινδάρου, τὸ οἰκτίζεσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἀλλὰ παθητικῶς.* Quintilian 64. *Simonides tenuis alioqui sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commendari potest: praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferant.*

(Stesichorus). Dionysius l.c. *ὅρα δὲ καὶ Στησιχόρου ἔν τε τοῖς ἑκατέρου τῶν προειρημένων* (Pindar and Simonides) *πλεονεκτήμασιν κατορθοῦντα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι λείπονται κρατοῦντα· λέγω δὲ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα τῶν προσώπων τετήρηκε.* Quintilian 62. *Stesichorus quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. Reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem, ac si tenuisset modum, videtur aemulari Homerum potuisse; sed redundat atque effunditur, quod ut est reprehendendum, ita copiae vitium est.*

(Alcaeus). Dionysius l.c. *Ἀλκαίου δὲ σκόπει τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχύ, καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς σχηματισμούς, καὶ τὴν σαφηνείαν, ὅσον αὐτῆς μὴ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τι κεκάκωται· καὶ πρὸ ἁπάντων τὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἦθος. Πολλαχοῦ γοῦν τὸ μέτρον τις εἰ περιέλοι, ῥητορικὴν ἂν εὕροι πολιτείαν.* Quintilian 63. *Alcaeus in parte operis 'aureo plectro' merito donatur, quia tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus*

confert; in eloquendo quoque brevis et magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis: sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.

In § 65 Quintilian proceeds to the old Comedy, about which there is nothing in Dionysius as we now have him. In the section on Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides Dionysius and Quintilian have nothing in common. But it is curious that both should proceed from the Attic tragedy to Menander.

Passing to the historians, Quintilian (73) merely condenses what is said much better and more fully by Dionysius (p. 22). *Τὸ σύντομόν ἐστι παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ...ἐν...τοῖς ἠθικοῖς κρατεῖ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης...ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ ἰσχύϊ καὶ τόνῳ καὶ τῷ περιττῷ καὶ πολυσχηματίστῳ παρηυδοκίμησε Θουκυδίδης· ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ χάριτι...μακρῷ διενεγκόντα τὸν Ἡρόδοτον εὑρίσκομεν. Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides, dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus: ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior, ille contionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate.*

On Theopompus Quintilian (74) is very scanty, but what he says is not in Dionysius. On Philistus Quintilian gives a very little of what Dionysius says (p. 23). Ephorus, Clitarchus and Timagenes (Quintilian 74, 75), are omitted by Dionysius. Xenophon is counted among the historians by Dionysius, among the philosophers by Quintilian (82)[1]. There is a general agreement in the criticism, Dionysius being much the fuller: Dionysius's words *καθαρὸς τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ἐναργής, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἡδὺς καὶ εὔχαρις* are faintly represented by Quintilian's *iucunditatem inadfectatam, sed quam consequi nulla adfectatio possit.*

In speaking of the philosophers it is to be noticed that both Dionysius (p. 26) and Quintilian (81) put Plato and Xenophon before Aristotle. About Aristotle Dionysius says *παραληπτέον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη εἰς μίμησιν τῆς τε περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν δεινότητος καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας, καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος καὶ πολυμαθοῦς· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβεῖν.* So Quintilian (83)

[1] Usener shews (p. 113) that this view was an old one. Xenophon is spoken of as a philosopher by Cicero (*De Orat.* 2 § 58), Diogenes Laertius, and Dio Chrysostom, all probably from an ancient authority.

quid Aristotelem? quem dubito scientia rerum an scriptorum copia an eloquendi suavitate an inventionum acumine an varietate operum clariorem putem.

The following sections in Quintilian (83—84), on Theophrastus and the Stoics, have nothing corresponding to them in Dionysius. Nor can it be said that in their remarks upon the orators Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides there is much notable coincidence between the two critics.

The general conclusion seems to be that for much of his criticism on the Greek poets, historians, and philosophers (if not for that on the orators), Quintilian is indebted to Theophrastus and later writers, as Aristophanes and Aristarchus[1]. It is not, therefore, much to the point to enquire how far he had studied or even read the authors upon whom he passes judgment. Doubtless he was familiar with his Homer, his tragedians, his Menander; he had probably read Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon; but it would be rash to credit him with a wide knowledge of Greek literature. When speaking of the less known authors he sometimes avowedly quotes the judgments of others; sometimes he lets the reader clearly perceive that he is talking at second-hand. This carelessness and indolent repetition of scholastic conventionalities is a great blot upon his work.

We must, however, do him the justice of supposing that his criticisms of the masters of Latin literature are, on the whole, independent. Let me endeavour briefly to sum up the chief points in them which seem to require attention.

(1) They are vitiated throughout by the idea of making canons of classical Latin authors to correspond as closely as possible with the Greek canons. Vergil leads the van among

[1] Usener, on a comparison of the criticisms in Cicero (especially the *Hortensius*), Dionysius, Quintilian, and Dio Cassius, sums up his conclusion thus: *Iudicia de poetis scriptoribusque Graecis non a Dionysio Quintilianus mutuatus est. Igitur ne Dionysius quidem sua profert, sed diversum utergue exemplum iudiciorum ut plerumque consonantium expressit. Fontis utrique communis antiquitatem Hortensius Tullianus cum Dione conparatus demonstravit. Posteriore tempore cum eruditionis copia in angustae memoriae paupertatem sensim contraheretur, iudiciis neglectis sola electorum auctorum nomina relicta sunt, et laterculi formam induerunt.* (p. 132.)

the poets as the Latin Homer; Macer and Lucretius follow as representing Hesiod and the didactic poets. The elegiac poets, Propertius and Tibullus, follow next, answering to Tyrtaeus; then the satirists, who of course have no Greek counterparts; then the writers of lampoon, Catullus, Bibaculus, and Horace, to match Archilochus; the lyric poets, Horace corresponding to Pindar; the dramatist, comic and tragic, among whom Varius is singled out as equal to any of the Greeks: the historians, Sallust being matched with Thucydides and Livy with Herodotus; the orators, Cicero being of course compared in detail with Demosthenes; and the philosophers, among whom we are told that Cicero is *aemulus Platonis*. It is needless to point out the weakness of this criticism, nor, after what has been already said, is there any difficulty in explaining its *genesis*. It is much more important to ask what is its positive value, what idea it gives us of Quintilian's literary insight.

(2) It will be observed, first, that Quintilian is a Ciceronian, and that both as against the younger school of his own day and as against the pre-Ciceronian literature. Ennius he sets aside with a few respectful words (88): Pacuvius and Accius, one must almost suppose, he had never read: *virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti adfectant, volunt*. If he had read them, then, he did not think it worth his while to pass an independent judgment upon them. The comedians, Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence, he will hardly notice; so far, he thinks, do they fall below their Greek originals. Lucretius he totally misconceives, even granting his point of view, for can it be said that there are no fine passages of rhetoric in the *De Rerum Natura*? The criticisms on the post-Ciceronian writers are for the most part (remembering always that Quintilian is thinking of the needs of an orator) sound and well expressed, notably that upon Ovid, *nimium amator ingenii sui: si imperare ingenio suo quam indulgere maluisset*. But they are mostly too short, and leave the impression that the writer is anxious to get to the end of them. In speaking of Cicero, however, Quintilian rises to the height of real enthusiasm, and has left a passage (105—112) which deserves to be quoted entire, as perhaps the most

typical instance of what his thoughtfulness and insight can attain to:

Oratores vero vel praecipue Latinam eloquentiam parem facere Graecae possunt. Nam Ciceronem cuicunque eorum fortiter opposuerim. Nec ignoro quantam mihi concitem pugnam, cum praesertim non id sit propositi, ut eum Demostheni comparem hoc tempore; neque enim attinet, cum Demosthenem in primis legendum vel ediscendum potius putem. Quorum ego virtutes plerasque arbitror similes, consilium, ordinem, dividendi, praeparandi, probandi rationem, denique quae sunt inventionis. In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas; densior ille, hic copiosior, ille concludit astrictius, hic latius, pugnat ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere, illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adici, curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae. Salibus certe et commiseratione, quae duo plurimum in adfectibus valent, vincimus. Et fortasse epilogos illi mos civitatis abstulerit; sed et nobis illa, quae Attici mirantur, diversa Latini sermonis ratio minus permiserit....Cedendum vero in hoc, quod et prior fuit, et ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. Nam mihi videtur M. Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Graecorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, iucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertas. Non enim 'pluvias', ut ait Pindarus, 'aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat', dono quodam providentiae genitus in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur. Nam quis docere diligentius, movere vehementius potest? Cui tanta umquam iucunditas affuit? ut ipsa illa quae extorquet impetrare eum credas, et cum transversum vi sua iudicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur sed sequi. Iam in omnibus quae dicit tanta auctoritas inest ut dissentire pudeat, nec advocati studium, sed testis aut iudicis adferat fidem; cum interim haec omnia, quae vix singula quisquam intentissima cura consequi posset, fluunt inlaborata, et illa, qua nihil pulchrius auditum est, oratio prae se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem. Quare non immerito ab omnibus aetatis suae regnare in iudiciis dictus est, apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero iam non hominis nomen sed eloquentiae habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus, hoc

propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille profecisse se sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.

This refined and carefully written criticism, in which hardly a word could be missed, may (granting the writer's point of view) be regarded as a classical monument of what educated insight, with manly and sober sense to support it, can effect. But genius is absent from the passage, as indeed from every word that Quintilian wrote. For that we must go to a far greater than Quintilian, one who was probably his pupil, and whose critical *dicta*, in form much resembling those of Quintilian, breathe a very different spirit, the author of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus.*

Quintilian, writing for his pupils, takes the line natural for a man who stood in his day at the head of the educational profession. His main question, put into modern language, is 'What is the best reading on which to form a good oratorical style?' Tacitus is not so directly concerned with the literary and professional aspects of the question. He penetrates to the heart of his subject, and asks under what social conditions do great writing and great speaking arise? seeing clearly (and this is the important point which characterizes the treatise) that literature must be taken and judged as the expression of national life, not as a matter of form and of scholastic teaching.

The first fifteen chapters of the *Dialogus* contain a discussion on the comparative advantages offered respectively by the life of the active lawyer and that of the poet. We are here concerned not with these, but with the remainder of the dialogue, in which Aper and Messalla defend respectively the modern and the older style of Latin eloquence.

Aper takes very much the same line as is suggested by Eumolpus in Petronius. He limits the field to a comparison between the orators of the Ciceronian age and those of his own, excluding the consideration of Cato and the Gracchi. In a vivid and lucid statement he lays down the principle that literary style changes with the times; that this has always been the case; that Cato improved upon Appius Claudius, Gracchus on Cato, Crassus on Gracchus, Cicero on Crassus. *Non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis anti-*

quos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est[1]. The orator who gave the impulse in the modern direction was Cassius Severus, and he did so deliberately; *non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam.* The present age cannot put up with the lengthiness and tediousness of the Ciceronians. It requires rapid and brilliant embodiment of thought; the orator must aim at the beauty of poetry, must form himself on Horace, Vergil, and Lucan. One great merit of Cicero was that his sense and taste were far in advance of contemporary opinion (*nec ulla re magis oratores aetatis eiusdem praecurrit quam iudicio*). He was the first orator who developed style in its perfection. You may find memorable sayings in Cicero, at least in the later speeches composed in his old age; his earlier orations give you nothing to carry away (*nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis*). To sum up in Aper's own words: *Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem et lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et* [*olentia*]*; nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur, fugiat foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.*

The reply of Messalla on behalf of the Ciceronian orators is opened by the statement that, different as they are, Cicero, Calvus, Asinius Pollio, Caelius, the sane complexion of their style is the same; *omnes eandem sanitatem prae se ferunt.* Their intention, their spirit, is akin. The modern manner, with its prettiness and wanton tricks, is the manner of the decadence. The cause of the decline is a moral one. The education of children has passed from the hands of the parents

[1] 19.

into those of Greek nurses and slaves, none of whom pauses to think what should or should not be said in the presence of a child. Again, while the youths of the Ciceronian age (to take the instance of Cicero himself) were brought into personal contact with the great masters of philosophy, oratory, and law, as Philo, Antonius, and Mucius Scaevola, boys are now sent to the professional rhetoricians to be taught to declaim, i.e. to practise speaking on fictitious themes—*fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis*[1]. *Apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus assuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret.* But what is the result of the modern training? Forgetting that great speaking is rooted in wide knowledge and many accomplishments, the young speakers of to-day make bad blunders even in common expressions, know nothing of *leges* or *senatus consulta*, laugh at the civil law, and are terrified at the notion of studying philosophy. *In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ego hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror esse cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus.*

In the rhetorical schools it is difficult to say whether more harm is done by the place or the companionship or the style of teaching. *Nam in loco nihil reverentiae, scilicet in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intret; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae.* The *suasoriae* are given to boys, the *controversiae* to youths: *quales per fidem et quam incredibiliter*

[1] C. 34. The same complaint, as to the unreality of these *declamationes*, is to be found in Petronius c. 1.

compositae! Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatorum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum, aut quicquid in schola quotidie agitur, in foro raro vel nunquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur. But a great style, like a fire, requires fuel to sustain it, motion to arouse it, activity to strengthen it (*magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo calescit*[1]). The force of genius, the brilliancy of style, depends upon the adequacy of the subject dealt with; *crescit enim amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et illustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit.* No doubt, he goes on to say, the Roman republic paid its price for its great eloquence. *Est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia,* he says in a vein worthy of Carlyle, *alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum...contumax, temeraria, arrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur...Nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.*

Striking and beautiful as this criticism is, it must be observed (1) that no answer is given to the objections brought by Aper to the style of the republican oratory as unsuited to the new conditions of things: and (2) that the speaker falls into a singular inconsistency when he first lays down the principle that a great style is born of great events and great surroundings, and then proceeds to condemn those very events and surroundings as leading to the ruin of republics. This inconsistency is not removed by the fact that he makes a moral and healthy education the first element in the production of a great speaker. For it is an essential condition of this training, as he himself emphatically states, that the young man should be constantly hearing eminent orators and witnessing the real conflicts of the forum; and the eminent orators cannot exist without these conflicts, which on his own shewing are destructive of healthy public life. Tacitus (for we can hardly doubt that Messalla represents the views of Tacitus) is looking one way and rowing the other. He speaks or appears to speak with bitter regret of

[1] 36.

a time which he nevertheless describes as disastrous. He ought surely to have gone on to condemn eloquence altogether, or at any rate to limit it strictly to the field of forensic business.

But these observations need not preclude us from awarding to the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* the palm among the pieces of literary criticism which have come down to us from Latin antiquity. The only work which can be compared with it is the *Brutus* of Cicero. But this falls behind Tacitus's book, not merely because Cicero wrote it in a hurry and with some consequent loss to completeness and literary form, but also because a century of eventful history has given Tacitus a wide experience and a deeper knowledge of the relation between literature and life. Cicero had witnessed no organic change in the constitution of Rome. The progress which he records is gradual, merely an advance from comparative rudeness to comparative polish; and the change is only a literary change, not determined by any great alteration in the complexion of society or politics. But in Tacitus's time the substitution of monarchy for republic had divided literature into republican and imperial, Ciceronian and non-Ciceronian. Some at least of the factors which go to produce social and literary mutation have not escaped his notice. The most important of these is the degeneracy of theme. The writer or speaker whose surroundings suggest great subjects, subjects likely to draw out the full moral and intellectual powers of the man, will speak in the grand manner; but an ignoble national life will produce ignoble art.

Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, is little more, so far as literary criticism goes, than an unimpeachable and intelligent professor. He is an antiquarian; in other words, he goes back to the literature of the third and second centuries B.C., and does not care to bring his reading down later than Cicero. His utterances do not go beyond neatly formulated criticisms of the old scholastic type. One or two instances will suffice. *Ad Verum* 1 (p. 113 Naber); *Quid si quis postularet ut Phidias ludiera aut Canachus deum simulacra fingeret? aut Calamis Turrena aut Polycletus Etrusca? Quid si Parrhasium versicolora pingere iuberet, aut Apellen unicolora, aut Nealcen*

magnifica, aut Nician obscura, aut Dionysium inlustria, aut lasciva Euphranorem, aut Pausiam proelia? In poetis autem quis ignorat ut gracilis sit Lucilius, Albucius aridus, mediocris Pacuvius, inaequalis Accius, Ennius multiformis? Historiam quoque scripsere Sallustius structe, Pictor incondite, Claudius lepide, Antias invenuste, Sisenna longinque, verbis Cato multiiugis, Coelius singulis. Contionatur autem Cato infeste, Gracchus turbulente, Tullius copiose. Iam in iudiciis saevit idem Cato, triumphat Cicero, tumultuatur Gracchus, Calvus rixatur. Or again (*De Feriis Alsiensibus* p. 224 N.) *mox, ut te studium legendi incessisset, aut te Plauto expolires, aut Accio expleres, aut Lucretio delenires, aut Ennio incenderes.*

Thus in the person of Fronto does Roman literature look back, wistfully but ineffectually, to the original sources of its inspiration. The story is now ended; the creative force which had successively produced the styles of Cicero, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus is exhausted; and with the death of style comes the death of criticism. The short survey which I have attempted in these two essays will have shewn, I hope, that, for bad or good, the literary criticism of the Romans has had its say in the history of European literature. For bad, in that their scholastic tradition set on foot the habit of mechanical comparison between the classical writers of different ages and countries; for good, in that principles of criticism, new and true, and full of suggestion for the future, were struck out in the course of a great history, finding worthy spokesmen in Rome's two greatest men of letters, Cicero and Tacitus.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

TWO EMENDATIONS OF LUCRETIUS.

Lucret. iv. 890, sqq.

Inde ea proporro corpus ferit, atque ita tota
Paulatim moles protruditur atque mouetur.
Praeterea tum rarescit quoque corpus, et aer,
Scilicet ut debet qui semper mobilis extat,
Per patefacta uenit penetratque foramina largus
Et dispargitur ad partis ita quasque minutas
Corporis. hic igitur rebus fit utrimque duabus,
†Corporis ut ac† nauis uelis uentoque feratur.

For *Corporis ut ac* read *Conpare ut hac* sc. mole corporis protrusi atque moti. 'Hereupon then it happens to the two things acting in their several ways, that the motion of a ship by sails and wind has its counterpart in this motion of the mass of the body.' Palaeography shows that in many early forms of writing *n* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable, that one of the abbreviations of *-is* was confused with *e*. I believe the same corruption to exist in a passage of Manilius[1] II. 665—669.

Nam neque taurus habet comitem, nec iungitur ulli
Horrendus leo, nec metuit sine corpore quemquam
Scorpios, atque uno censetur Aquarius astro.

Read *sine conpare*, a variation on *sine comite*, as the context shows.

Lucret. v. 1440—1443.

Iam ualidis saepti degebant turribus aeuom,
Et diuisa colebatur discretaque tellus,
Iam mare ueliuolum florebat †propter odores
Auxilia ac socios iam pacto foedere habebant.

Read *Iam mare ueliuolis proreis florebat opertum*, and cf. Stat. Achill. I. 443 *feruent portus et operta carinis Stagna.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

[1] This conj. after writing the above I found had been made by D'Orville, and admitted into Jacob's text of Manilius.

HEINSIUS' CODEX MORETI.

SOME years ago, when I was preparing my edition of the *Ibis* of Ovid, an Antwerp gentleman informed me that a number of MSS of Ovid, which had been used by Heinsius, were still in the Maison Plantin in that city. No occasion however presented itself of visiting Antwerp till this autumn (1889), when in company of an undergraduate friend I made a short tour in Belgium and Holland.

The librarian, Mr Max Rooses, at once showed me the MSS, of which there are some nine or ten. I had no leisure to examine any of them except one. Its old numbering is $\frac{25}{43}$; its new, D. 68. It is a MS, as I judged, of the xiith century, and therefore of some importance, containing as it does the Nux, Medicamina Faciei, Ibis, Rem. Amoris, Ars Amatoria, Amores, Heroides, Fasti, Tristia, Epist. ex Ponto, in short all the works of Ovid except the Metamorphoses. It does *not* contain the Epicedion Drusi, nor the Epistle of Sappho to Phaon.

Heinsius quotes this MS as Moreti codex twice in the *M. F.* (60, 89), twice in the *Nux* (47, 73). His complete collation of it in the *Ibis* is preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin 'in uolumine b. D. mss. 4. 1070,' as Merkel states p. 408 of his 1837 edition of the *Tristia* and *Ibis*. Merkel has given this collation under the letter *d*; but it is not always exact.

If I were preparing a new edition of the *Ibis*, I should include this codex Moreti. During my stay at Antwerp, I made the following excerpts, which some readers may care to compare with Merkel's *d*, where the same passages have been collated by Heinsius and myself. I quote the lines from Merkel's edition of 1837.

73 Circumflua solis imago
168 Et scindunt caudi
289 Vtque parum mutis
291 Aut ut ececratides m. t. ab h. quintus
323 Vtue milo pisa
439 Aut ut casandreus
346 Thisimanique patri colligenoque uiro
350 Locris *looks rather like* Bocris
359 capitique parentis amica
360 Quam tua uel terela uel tibi nise fuit
363 4 quorum fastidia uultus Brachia
370 Cum capta est pomis
375 ab anguibus oris
376 Legimus infande signa dedisse neci
395 Vt qui post longum
399 pro gramen habentibus herbis
405 et de polipemone natus
416 Quique tenent pontem q tibi maior erit (*i.e.* quae)
427 a vespere rursus ad ortus al. solis
428 Cur e. solis agantur equi
431 Teque alicui posito cui nil sit numinis opto
432 Tantalides tu sis tu tereique puer
442 Dum modo sint facti nomina uera tui
445 Et quae pentides fecit de fratre meduse
450 culter abesse uelit
461 Aut ut abanciades aut ut ligoneus heres
468 dexithoosque pater
473 Vt macelo rapidis menedecta coniuge flammis
497 India se scopulis
498 inuicto
500 Sitque pegasee (*perhaps after an erasure*)
506 Phrixia uenator
508 Te cor cyrenum cresia
510 licoride
513 Hy^{r}tacideque (*the* ^{r} *seems a later insertion*)
537 Cognitor (gn *later*) ut rapd(?t)e lesus cognomine mir^{r}e (*later, the original letter between* r *and* e *erased*)

546 Qualia minūmi
557 socrates dignissimus olim l' aniti
567 Vtque loquax in ꝯquo est elisus guttur acerbo ł agenor
598 orphean esse rate
619 Atthalon ut uita spoliauit ysidius hospes
620 pellit ysis.

MEDICAMINA FACIEI.

I collated the poem with Merkel's edition of 1876. I here record the variants of the codex Moreti.

1 commendat 2 cura 4 rubet 7 Multa 8 murmure 9 eodem 12 Maluerint rure 13 alter 14 Assiduo durum 15 Ipsoque 17 At uestrae 18 Dulcis copa 19 Vultis ad optatos positos 20 Conspicuam manum 21 Indigitis 22 quanto/ bonus 23 sit 25 potiantur 27 Pro se queque paret et quos uenerentur amores 28 crimina nulla mihi 29 illos 30 athos *marg.* ł atros cultus saltus 31 quecumque 35 Si potius urget amor *om.* nos 36 magna 39 Nec mediis mensis cindantur cantibus ungues 41 tenesea remouerit 43 *Prima littera P minio scripta est et per quartam fere partem marginis paginae deducta usque ad u.* 55 44 facile 48 ueniat 49 probitas longum 51 Dic age dum dimiserat 54 pabea 55 Par eris 56 Et ordea 57 fuerit 58 scribra 60 texta fac agis 61 confuse 62 *puto* numeris 63 Addice 64 quas murmure 65 sextantem *om.* que 67 afficis 68 Fulgebit 69 pallore 70 instantis corpora frugifere 72 comminuendo 73 Nec tibi cerusa tabentis *pro* rubentis 74 Desit et illirica 76 Et iustum tristis 77 quae *pro* de 78 alcinoea 80 Quo sexta 81 Et 82 Adice 85 corpora uitro 86 trahens 87 direptum 88 cibum 89 contereris 91 marachos 92 Quinque parant marachis scrapula mirre nouem 93 Albentisque prehendat 95 Ordea que 97 sit paruo mellis 98 nullus 100 Cum tereret illiniaque.

NUX.

Variations of the codex Moreti from the text of Heinsius' Elzevir ed. of 1658.

5 peccare docetur 7 tunc cum meliora fuerunt 13 nisi 18 quamuis honos 23 Nunc uterus uicii est 26 deremestra querela 30 Destituant *Post* 30 *habet*

Fructus iocundosque fero similis et rubicundos
Audiat hoc ficus ficu priuabit amicos
Audiat hoc cerasus stypes inanis erit
Inuideo nunquit **** tamen ulla feritur
Quae sterilis sola est conspicienda coma

35 sinceres ramos 36 habet 37 mutulatis 38 deiecto 39 inducta 40 queruntur 41 Sic reus 43 se scit 47 quid 48 Fragmina quod leso uimine uincta iacent 55 accedere meis (*pro* nostris) 57 mea est 58 Inueniat 65 labore 68 ad partus 70 Nec possum 72 Et comedit 73 Has puer haut certo delaniat ictu (*sic*) 74 Aut pronas 75 Quatuor in nucibus animi amplius 78 qualibet 79 aut impar 81 figura 83 quae 84 tot capit ipse 85 Vasque cauum plenum 86 missi 95 Nux mea mollis adhuc tenero sublate qua intra est 97 Iam tantum inuenio qui me iaculetur 98 numen inane 100 habet 101 foliis ubi 103 Estubus hic ueris 105 At mihi nec grandis 108 hec mihi 111 Hesperiique ducis 113 At iubet et 114 uindicte 115 Meque non noceo 117 mutantibus umbras 123 Nec 124 Causabor quare 126 uiam 128 *om.* 131 Aut simul induimus nostris sua munera ramis 133 Forsitan hoc aliquis dicit quam publica tangit 135 distinguite cedite menses 139 Qui bibet argentem prima de fonte 142 tangere tollat 145 inter menia sinit 148 et tutam non licet esse nuci 151 Ac lapis 154 Et crimen uox est 156 Cortice nudatas 162 turbinis 163 Autque 165 arte tibi 167 ubi sumit 169 uulnera 170 uinclaque turua 173 Vtue grauem pascens tolli sibi uacca securem 175 timuisse

176 tremoris 177 Si merui uideorque nocens excidite ferro 178 Nostraque fumosis urite membra focis 179 Si merui uideorque nocens imponite flamme 182 Parcite et sic.

Among these variants I would signalize as noticeable

1. In v. 48 *uincta*. The Florence codex (F), collated by Wilamowitz and reckoned by Bährens the best, gives *multa*, for which Burmann conj. *trunca*, Bährens *muta*. Possibly, as the codex Moreti suggests, the right word is *uicta*.

2. In v. 72 *comedit* may be right. *Et comedit lectas parca colona nuces.* Bährens' MSS give *condit*.

3. The reading of 95 seems to represent

Nux mea mollis adhuc tenero sub lacte quod intra est,

and this (with the exception of *Nux mea*, for which Bährens' MSS rightly give *Lamina*) may be right, as the next verse

Nec mala sunt ulli nostra futura bono

contains a *sunt* which mollifies the harshness of the omitted *est*.

4. In 117 *Quid si non aptas solem mutantibus umbras* may be right, for *uitantibus* occurs in 119, and *F* has *minantibus*. The reading which is found in some MSS, *fugientibus*, looks like an interpolation.

5. uu. 125, 126 are thus printed by Bährens

Dumque repurgat humum collectaque saxa remittit
Semper habent in me tela parata uiae.

The codex Moreti gives *uiam*, more elegantly. Is not *uiae*, indeed, somewhat flat? After *humum* it seems tautologous.

6. uu. 133, 134 are thus given by Bährens

Forsitan hic aliquis dicat 'quae publica tangunt,
Carpere concessum est': hoc uia iuris habet.

Our codex is here absolutely different: it gives *quam publica tangit* sc. uia.

I do not feel sure that this is not right.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE BODLEIAN MS. OF JEROME'S EUSEBIAN CHRONICLE.

Owing to the as yet unperfected arrangements for cataloguing MSS. at the Bodleian, this the most important MS. for the text of Jerome's Chronicle has till quite recently escaped notice. Two years ago, it seems, the Codex was by the mistake of an attendant brought to a German scholar instead of some other MS. which he wanted, and he seems to have been the first to draw attention to its nature. About a year afterwards the Librarian who had perceived at once on seeing the MS. that it was earlier than the 8th century, to which it had previously been ascribed, sent photographs of several pages to Mr Maunde Thompson, who confirmed this opinion and said that it undoubtedly belonged to the early part of the 6th. A few months later than this Dr Mommsen was in Oxford, and the Librarian thought that at last the hour was come, and the man to whom this important discovery might be revealed. And so in this somewhat circuitous way it has been permitted to the Professor and Reader of Latin and to Oxford scholars generally to become aware of the existence of this MS. in their own Library.

The MS. is in uncials, beautifully written, and very little mutilated, though it has been slightly injured by fire, and the corners of the leaves have in many places been burnt away. Throughout the Codex there are marginalia which in Dr Mommsen's opinion are by the same scribe who wrote the text. In this he is probably mistaken, but the handwriting is certainly not later than the end of the 6th century, and is therefore at any rate not much younger than the text. These marginalia mostly do no more than summarise the main events in the text, but in a few cases they supplement or add to it. Unfortunately,

the earlier portion of the Chronicle is wanting, and is supplied by a later MS., belonging probably to the 16th century, so that O (the Oxford MS. proper) only begins with the year 555 ab Abrah., the first historical note being "In Creta regnavit Lappis," under the 27th year of the Athenian Erichthonius. At the end too one leaf has gone, and the MS. ends with the words "qui a Romanis sine armorum depositione suscepti per avaritiam"—under the 13th year of Valentinian. What remains of the MS. is contained on 113 leaves of parchment, each containing on an average 26—30 lines. It came into the Bodleian from the Meermann Collection, in the catalogue of which it is entered as 771.

As O is at least a century earlier than any other MS. of the Chronicle, and in fact dates from within about 100 years of Jerome's death, it is of first-rate importance for textual criticism, and indeed a new edition is to be published, prepared by Dr A. Schoene of Königsberg, and based on this MS. as far as it goes, and on M, the Middlehill MS., formerly at Cheltenham and now at Berlin, for the missing portions.

Such an edition is indeed doubly necessary, since Dr Schoene in his earlier edition of 1866 not only left out of account M (the readings of which are only given in a supplement), and of course O, but also did not deal altogether judiciously with the MSS. which were at his disposal.

These were mainly B: Codex Bernensis, an uncial MS. of the 7th century: A, Codex Amandinus, now at Valenciennes, also uncial of the 7th century: P, Codex Leidensis (MS. Lat. Voss. C. 110), dating from the 9th or 10th century, and bearing a close resemblance to A, but sometimes with better readings, and F, Codex Leidensis (MS. Scal. 14), copied, as internal evidence shows, from an archetype written about 515 A.D. and itself belonging to the 9th century. Of these B differs from the rest in this respect, that whereas APF have the chronological tables of the various states up to Olympiad LXV. distributed over two pages (versa and recta), B compresses them all into one; and after Olympiad LXV, while the other MSS. have the tables complete in one page, B inserts two sets of tables in each page.

Dr Schoene makes in effect this to be the basis on which he classifies the MSS. and argues that for two reasons it seems probable that the arrangement of B was also the arrangement of Jerome himself. (1) It agrees with the arrangement of the Armenian version, which presumably followed that of Eusebius. (2) Jerome says in his Preface that the colouring of the various tables in red and black ink was intended "quo regnorum tramites qui per vicinitatem nimiam paene mixti erant distinctione minii separarentur"—a need which would apply with greater force to the compressed arrangement of B. It seems very doubtful whether these reasons are conclusive, and at any rate B was copied by an ignorant, if not a careless scribe, and Dr Schoene certainly committed an error of judgment in choosing B as his chief guide, even when APF only were to be set in the opposite scale. Of course the assumption that B has followed the original arrangement of Jerome is not in itself very important either one way or the other, but Dr Schoene draws the further conclusion that the other, and as he thinks the later arrangement, must have been the deliberate work of some grammarian, and not the mere preference of a scribe, and if a grammarian had meddled with the Chronicle so far, he probably, Dr Schoene supposes, went further, and proceeded to revise the text in various places, and to substitute his ideas of orthography for those of Jerome. So he says, speaking of the superiority of the readings in APF in many places, "Quod sane miros nos haberet nisi suspicari liceret profectam esse illam mutatam scribendi rationem a docto quodam quinti vel sexti saeculi grammatico. Is enim tum cum Hieronymianum opus de singulis paginis in binas extenderet, ex temporis more fortasse nonnullorum exemplorum inter se conlatorum auxilio huic operae vacavit." Accordingly, though Dr Schoene naturally does not refuse the help of APF in rectifying the numerous corruptions of B, he still retains B as his main guide generally, and in matters of orthography in particular he in very few instances prefers the combined authority of the other MSS. to B alone. He describes his method thus: "Et si quidem probabilibus argumentis evicimus Bongarsianum id esse exemplum quod solum diorthoseos et emendationis grammaticae vestigia

nulla referret, et quod hanc ipsam ob rem prae reliquis integerrime Hieronymi opus exhiberet, jam qua via in re orthographica constituenda incedendum sit perspicuum est. Videlicet hanc secutus sum legem, ut nisi certis causis perductus, Bongarsiani codicis orthographiam servarem. Quare ubicumque in antiquiore scribendi ratione consentiunt B et A, retinendam eam esse duxi. In gravioribus ubi discrepant, B libro patrocinatus sum, nisi ejus scriptura aperte corrupta est librariorum incuria, aut reliqui vetustiores libri inter quos A eminere ostendimus, antiquioris vel cum Hieronymi solita scriptura magis convenientis scripturae vestigium retinuerunt. In levioribus autem ubi discrepant B et APF, Bongarsiano propterea abstipulatus sum, quod APF alterius ordinis libros emendatorum vel saltem grammaticorum inprobas sollertesque manus aliquantulum perpessos esse comperi."

But both the assumptions on which this procedure rests, if not gratuitous, have at least very little solid foundation. The insufficiency of that relating to B, I have already pointed out. But that relating to APF has still less worth. F, it is true, was copied from an archetype which had been written by a certain Bonifacius about the year 515 A.D. for the use of the two sons of Marinus, praetorian prefect under Anastasius, and probably there may have been a certain amount of recension about this work. But this fact does not in any way affect AP, which differ in many respects from F, and which, according to Dr Schoene's own showing are not derived from the Bonifacian recension.

Thus even with the MSS. at Dr Schoene's disposal, there was no good reason for giving to B the premier place among the MSS., and the rejected readings of APF would in a large number of cases have improved the text.

But a better MS. than any of those used by Dr Schoene came to his knowledge unfortunately too late to be of any use to his text, although he has had it collated and has published its readings in his subsequent volume (Vol. I. 1875). This was M, the Middlehill MS. already referred to, which, though a century later than A and B (it belongs to the 8th century), is decidedly superior to both of them; and M offers no sort of confirmation of Dr Schoene's preference for B.

And now lastly, as a final blow to his procedure, has come the discovery of the Oxford MS., which is at least a century earlier than B, and yet has the arrangement of the tables which Dr Schoene declares to be different from that of Jerome, and is about the same age as the supposed Bonifacian recension, and yet has nothing about it, except its general affinity with APF, to justify the supposition that it has been subjected to a grammarian's corrections. If the excellence and correctness of a MS. are to be made arguments against its authority, and in what else consists Dr Schoene's objection to APF, I cannot see, our canons of textual criticism must undergo some essential modification; but, failing that, the premier place must undoubtedly belong from this time to O, and the sooner Dr Schoene's text is corrected by means of this authority the better.

As I have already said, O, compared with the other MSS., even the best of them, is singularly free from errors, and has evidently been written from an almost perfect archetype by a careful, intelligent and accurate scribe. It need, however, hardly be said that a considerable number of mistakes occur in the course of the MS. Of these I give some of the most characteristic examples:—

ph and f are used almost indiscriminately in triumphare—triumfare: philosophi—filosofi—philosofi: Amphion—Amfion: prophetabant—profetabant: Philomela—Filomela, &c., &c.

The aspirate is sometimes inserted sometimes omitted in such words as Thrax—Trax: Thucydides—Tucydides: rhetor—retor.

Forms like Chartagine, Charchedone, Aethna, Alchibiades, Mychenis are frequently found, and on the other hand Acilleum.

ae is often put for e, as Semelae, caecinisse, ignominiosae, dogmatae, aegregiam, and also e for ae, as terre, Eschylus, Olympiade (nom. plur.).

Proper names are occasionally confused, as Syriis for Tyriis; Sicilia for Cilicia: Assyriae for Syriae: Syriam for Assyriam: and Annaeus for Iannaeus, sometimes by the transposition, omission or addition of a letter, as Syofo for Sisypho: Delpos for Delfos: Pepolem for Pelopem: Fingam for Sphingam: Partam for Spartam: Capitis for Capyis: Salinato for Salinatore: Cybele for Cabyle.

Sometimes again a wrong word occurs through change or omission of a letter, as apta for capta: congregasse for congregasset: ab for ad: reliquid for reliquit: sentiam for sententiam: constitur for constituitur: generis sui for generi sui: tragaecus for tragicus: praebere for praebuere: perdisset for perdidisset: polluntur for polluuntur.

Sometimes a wrong case appears, as rhethorum for rhetor: Castorum for Castor: callidissima for callidissimam: magistratuum for magistratum: bifaria for bifariam: Hostilius Primus for Hostilium Primum: Galliam for Gallia: probabilem for probabile.

Occasionally a wrong construction is caused by a slip of this kind, as obiit for ob id: confluit for confluitur: statuit erat for statuerat: suscepta est for susceptae; or a wrong word gets into the text, as contentione for contione: secesserat for successerat; or even a vox nihili as digniter: unguentibus; poseros (for pueros).

This list, which does not profess to be an exhaustive one, is perhaps sufficient to show the character of the MS. in respect to accuracy.

It may be noticed that the MS. always has apud not aput: epistulas not epistolas: nuntiam not nunciam: rettulit not retulit: scenam not scaenam; scholam not scolam: clipeum not clypeum: satyricus not satiricus: obsideri not obsederi: vicessimum not vicensimum: elementum not elimentum; and usually, though there are exceptions, scripta not scribta: and obtinuit not optinuit. In words compounded with prepositions the usage varies. While we have on the one side adsessor, subputet, &c.: on the other we find commigrans, componit, and corruerunt.

Of readings which are only found in O I have noted the following:—

p. 61 (Schoene), c. After Hebraeorum pontifex Abiathar clarus habetur O adds, "Post quem principes quos mors finiebat quorum primus Medron Codri filius."

p. 83, g. gesserunt, O: rexerunt BAPFM.

„ „ Under the 24th year of Romulus O alone has "Romani Tatio Sabinorum rege regnante cum Romulo a Curib. Quirites appellati."

p. 91. Opposite the 11th year of Tarquinius Priscus these words occur in the margin; "In agone certantibus hircus dabatur, qui Graece tragos dicitur, unde tragoedos dici ferunt."

p. 99, g. O omits "Ideo secundus annus bis scribitur quia unus annus in magorum fratrum VII mensibus computatur."

p. 117, i. subiciunt O: subigunt BPFAM.

p. 149, i. adyto templi O: adito templi BPFAM.

p. 175, k. O has "cuius non mediocria de reliquiis extant uolumina." The non being omitted by BAPFM.

p. 181, t. immortalitate O, mortalitate BAPFM.

„ u. BAPFM have "Novatus presbyter Cypriani Romam veniens Novatianum et ceteros confessores sibi sociat," etc. O has "Novatus presbyter Cypriani Romam veniens, [ex quo] Novatianum dogma sumpsit [exordium, qui etiam Maximum] et ceteros confessores," etc. etc.[1] On this Dr Mommsen writes to me—"Evidently the vulgate is right, and the Oxford text in this passage interpolated in order to make the Chronicle concord with Eusebius-Rufinus."

p. 183, o. Germani Hispanias obtinuerunt O:
Germanis Hispanias obtinentibus BAPFM.

Next I will note a number of passages where M and O agree against all the other MSS.

p. 33, p. Placed under Athen. 42, MO: Athen. 41, BAPF.

p. 35, i. „ „ Athen. 6, MO: Athen. 3, F: Athen. 7, BAP.

p. 37, o. Placed under Athen. 1, MO: Athen. 3, BAPF.

p. 41, b. Placed under Athen. 40, MO: Athen. 38, AF: Athen. 41, BP.

p. 41, e. Placed under Athen. 48, MO: Athen. 47, APF: Athen. 50, B.

p. 43, m. Mycenaram om. MO.

„ „ i. Placed under Athen. 32, MO: Athen. 27, F: 28, A, 31 B, 35 P.

p. 45, l. avolasse MO: volasse AP: evolasse BF.

„ 47, d. Placed under Athen. 17, MO: 16, AP: 18, BF.

„ „ f. „ „ Athen. 19, MO: Athen. 21, BAPF.

[1] The words in brackets appear to be added by the writer of the marginalia.

p. 49, a. Placed under Athen. 38, MO: 37, P: 39, AF: 40 B.

p. 61, d. Efesus condita ab Androco MO: ab Andronico APF: ab Androco vel ab Andronico B.

p. 99, e. Hybicus MO: Hippicus B: Hibicus AP.

„ „ d. Hystaspis MO: Hydaspis AP: Hidaspis B: Histaspis F.

p. 115, o. demisso MO: dimisso BAPF.

„ 131, f. vallo circumdans MO: circumdans BAPF.

„ 133, b. Gaius Lucilius MO: C. Lucius BAPF.

„ „ β. Uultacilius MO: Uultacius, B: Uulcacilius AP: Uttacilius F.

p. 145, n. Spolentinis O: Polentinis M: Spolitinis F: Spoletinis AP: Politinis B.

p. 155, h. luxoriae MO: luxuriae BAPF.

„ 181, h. Athalamos MO: Athlamos B: XL missus natali AB: Quadraginta missus natali P.

p. 192, k. subuersa MO: euersa BAPF.

„ 197, v. Probus praefectus Illyrici MO: Illyrici Equitius comes BAPF.

This last point, as Mommsen has remarked (Hermes, XXIV. pt. 3), has a certain historical importance, Probus being the civil and Equitius the military chief of Illyricum, the native country of Jerome. The former, Sex. Petronius Probus, was a man of great influence and power, of very doubtful character, but a notoriously dangerous enemy (Amm. Marcell. XXVII. 11, 2). Jerome wrote his Chronicle in the East, and so could venture to assign the guilt to its real author, but his western copyists were not so independent, and found it safer to substitute the less powerful, but more innocent Equitius.

Among instances of agreement between O and F may be mentioned:

p. 117, n. "Ab hoc loco Edesseni sua tempora computant," om. F, while in O it is inserted in the margin in the same hand as the other marginalia.

p. 137, tit. C. Julius Caesar a. IIII mensibus VII OF: VIII M: VI BAP.

p. 137, p. "Ab hoc loco Antiocheni sua tempora comput-

ant," om. OF. O however has in the margin "Antiocheni annorum suorum numerum XC Caesares (perhaps a C. Caesare) computant."

p. 139, f. Cicero, ut quibusdam placet, interficitur in Caietis, om. OF. O however has it in the margin.

p. 147, s. blanditias OF: blandimentas A: blandimta P: blanditiam BM.

p. 173, m. Maximinus OF: Maximus BAPM.

„ 189, t. Cinalense OF: Cibalense BAPM.

„ 191, b. in uilla sua Spalato OF: in uillae suae palatio BAPM.

In not a few cases OFM agree against the other MSS. Thus

p. 45, c. allegabat OFM: allegebat AP: alligabat B.

„ „ g. Gedeon, iudex OFM: iudex om. cett.

„ 53, tit. Demophon OFM: Demofon AP: Demofoon B.

„ 61, i. vel Cumae: om. OFM.

„ „ m. bellum OFM: excidium BAP.

„ 133, tit. "Syriae et Asiae regnum deficit," om. OFM.

„ 139, e. populi OFM: Pupili A: Popili BP.

„ 143, i. construit OFM: construxit BAP.

„ 163, c. in insulam Pontiam OFM: in insulam Pontianam BAP.

p. 171, e. vitae suae OFM: aetatis suae BAP.

„ 198, p. After "Basilius Caesariensis episcopus Cappadociae clarus habetur" OFM have "qui multa continentiae et ingenii bona uno superbiae malo perdidit." P has this, but in the margin; BA omit it.

Cases of agreement with AP, many of them confirmed by M, are very frequent. The following must suffice:

p. 39, d. liberatus sit OMAP: est BF.

„ 41, g. spectatores OMAP: expectatores BF.

„ 61, f. perseuerauerat OMP: perseuerat A: perseuerauit F: perseuerabat B.

p. 65, tit. Psusennes OP: Pseusennes AF: Susennes B.

„ 87, p. Lampsacus OPM: Lamsacus BAF.

„ 103, c. Pannyasis OAM: Panniasis cett.

„ 115, s. Paraetonium OAP: Parethonium F: Paretonium BM.

p. 133, z. aetatis suae APOM : aetatis BF.

„ 137, o. primus apud Romanos APOM : primus Romanus BF.

p. 137, v. postularint OPM : postularent F : postularont B.

„ 155, b. regente APO : regnante BMF.

„ 157, l. "Prima persecutio a Nerone," om. APO.

„ 173, c. Dionysius OPM : Dyonisius F : Dionisius B.

Lastly, between O and APF or APFM there is a very large number of agreements, of which a few may be noted :—

p. 37, k. Cadmia APFO : Cadmea BM.

„ 41, c. seruiuit APFOM : seruiit B.

„ 67, a. Samariae APFOM : in Samaria B.

p. 67, tit. Justus is given as a cognomen to Josaphat by APFOM : omitted by B.

p. 77, tit. Boccharis annos XLIIII APFO : XLVI B.

„ 79, f. Iohel APFMO : Amos B.

„ 91, d. extruxit APFMO : instruxit B.

„ 115, n. pugnaverat APFO : pugnaverit BM.

„ 119, a. Samaritarum APFMO : Samaritanorum B.

„ 133, m. qui added by APFMO : omitted by B.

„ 137, x. Prohibitae lecticis margaritisque uti ne APFO : electris B : electis M, where Dr Schoene has with singular want of judgment chosen to follow B in spite of Suetonius Caes. 43.

p. 145, r. agnoscitur ABFOM : nascitur B.

„ 147, h. nonagies tercentena APFOM : XCIII centena B.

„ 153, r. Sub procuratore Iudaeae AFFOM : Sub quo procuratore etc. B.

p. 157, r. liberti APFOM : libertini B.

„ 161, o. philosophos Romana urbe pepulit APFOM : Romanos B.

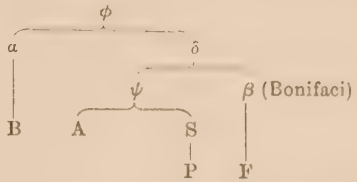
p. 195, t. Chrestus APFMO : Charistus B.

„ 196 k. specialiter APFMO : peculiariter B.

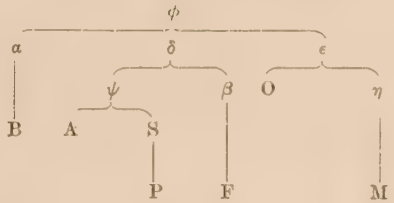
With AB there is one remarkable coincidence. Under the 1st year of Julian (Schoene p. 196 g) Jerome states that Lucifer "adscitis duobus aliis confessoribus" raised the Catholic Paulinus to the episcopate of Antioch. To this ABO add in the margin "Gorgonium dicit de Germanicis et Cymatium de Gabala (Gabata O).

That there are a certain number of points in which BO agree against the rest is not wonderful, but on the whole both M and O have much greater affinity with the family APF than they have with B.

Dr Schoene arranges the MSS. used by him in the following tabular form, the Greek letters representing MSS. which have not survived:



To find room for M and O, possibly this scheme might be modified as follows:



It is hardly probable that any better MSS. than MO will be forthcoming to serve as the basis of the text of Jerome, but it is not unlikely that MSS. worth consulting still lurk in out-of-the-way libraries which may have eluded all the vigilance of Dr Schoene. However, amply sufficient materials are now at hand for a fresh edition of the Chronicle, and this will now be pushed forward without further delay.

E. G. HARDY.

ON THE TEXT OF ORIGEN AGAINST CELSUS.

In his elaborate and careful discussion of the MSS of Origen's Treatise against Celsus, lately published in Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Dr Koetschau classes all the known codices in two families, derived respectively from Vatic. Gr. 386 (V) of the thirteenth century, and Paris. Suppl. 616 (P) which was written in A.D. 1340. I had myself reached a similar result by an independent course of investigation, when I wrote the article, On the Text of the Philocalia of Origen, in vol. XVIII, no. 35, of this Journal: but, together with V and P, I retained as possibly independent another MS, Ven. 45. Dr Koetschau has since shewn conclusively that this is a copy of V. Although lack of sufficient information compelled me then to suspend my judgment on the relation of these principal codices, I knew enough to say that it was quite conceivable that V was actually the parent of all the existing MSS. Subsequent study of both V and P—the one in the Vatican, the other, by the courtesy of the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in our own University Library—has led me to the conclusion that P is copied from V. This view is directly contrary to Dr Koetschau's judgment. I have been forced to it with regret, as its establishment leaves the text of this great work dependent on a single thirteenth century codex.

The question is so important in view of Dr Koetschau's promised edition, that it deserves to be dealt with in detail. I shall first collect some instances in which the reading of P can only be satisfactorily explained when we consider the present condition of V. I shall then examine those passages which Dr Koetschau considers to be decisive on the other side.

It would not be difficult to find hundreds of examples in which P presents us with a reading which may be seen in V, written in, as a correction, by a hand different from that of the transcriber, but possibly of the same period. But in the majority of these instances V was at first wrongly written, and the alteration is an improvement of the text: and accordingly such cases, useful as they are to confirm our hypothesis when once it has been fairly established, cannot be relied on in the first instance as proofs of the derivation of P from V. For it might be argued that the contemporary corrector of V did no more than go back to the archetype, from which the transcriber had been copying, and correct the errors which his carelessness had introduced: and in this case it would be open to us to suppose that P was a more correct though a later copy of that same archetype. This is Dr Koetschau's position.

We must fall back therefore on the much smaller class of passages, in which it can be shewn that V was at first rightly written, and that the alteration, subsequently made in it and accepted by P as the genuine reading, was a distinct depravation of the text and not a recurrence to a more correct original. If P reproduces obvious blunders, the origin of which can be traced to the corrector of V, then we have the strongest grounds for believing that P was copied from V.

Fortunately at this point we have the aid of the Philocalia, about one-fifth of which consists of extracts from the Contra Celsum: and thus we are often able to decide at once which of two readings is the original one. Where the first hand of V has the support of the Philocalia, we have good reason to distrust the correction subsequently made in that MS; and the reappearance of this correction as the text of P is most readily explained by the hypothesis of the descent of P from V. This will be clear as we proceed to examine a few selected examples.

(1) c. Cels. i. 2 (Lomm. i. p. 22) = Philoc. c. xv (Lomm. p. 75) ἃς (sc. δυνάμεις) κατασκευαστέον γεγονέναι καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἴχνη δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι σώζεσθαι κ.τ.λ. P.

The Philocalia is divided in its testimony between ἐκ τοῦδε·

ἴχνη αὐτῶν, and ἐκ τοῦ ἴχνη αὐτῶν, omitting the troublesome δὲ. The transcriber of V wrote ἐκ τοῦ δὲ ἴχνη αὐτῶν, but a later hand has drawn a stroke of the pen through the δὲ, and has inserted a fresh δὲ above the line between ἴχνη and αὐτῶν. Thus the reading of P can be at once accounted for.

I am aware that against this and many similar instances it may be urged that the correction may have been made by the corrector whose business it was to compare the new copy with its archetype; and that P may really preserve the true reading of that archetype, from which the transcriber of V had erroneously departed. But the divergence of the Philocalia text makes such an explanation extremely improbable here.

(2) c. Cels. i. 20 (Lomm. i. p. 45). The true text is: εἰπὼν καὶ Ἕλληνας ταῦτα νομίζειν ἀρχαῖα, ὡς πρεσβύτερα, διὰ τοὺς κατακλυσμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις, οὐ τεθεωρήκασιν οὐδ' ἀπομνημονεύουσιν.

Here P has the absurd reading οὗ οὐ τεθεωρήκασιν, which is explained the moment we see the Vatican codex, which gives οὗ τεθεωρήκασιν with οὐ added apparently by another hand just above the letter τ. It was obviously intended as a correction of the impossible οὗ, but P adds it to the text.

(3) c. Cels. iii. 54 (Lomm. i. p. 326) = Philoc. c. xviii (Lomm. p. 128). Here παιδεῦσαι has been subsequently corrected in V into παιδεύεσθαι. P accepts the correction: but the Philocalia has παιδεῦσαι, which gives an equally good sense, and is no doubt the original reading.

(4) c. Cels. iv. 75 (Lomm. ii. p. 114) = Philoc. c. xx (Lomm. p. 137). πρὸς τὸν ἀσέβειαν ἡμῶν κατηγοροῦντα V, πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἡμῶν κατηγοροῦντα P.

Here τὴν is obviously wrong, and the fact that the centre of the ο in τὸν (which is rightly read in the Philocalia as well) is thickly blotted in V, and might easily be misread, can hardly be a mere coincidence.

(5) c. Cels. iv. 93 (Lomm. ii. p. 150) = Philoc. c. xx (Lomm. p. 156). ὅθεν εἴπερ ἄλλο τι Μωσέως τεθαύμακα, καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο θαύματος εἶναι ἀποφανοῦμαι ἄξιον, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Philoc.

In V εἶναι was omitted by the transcriber: then it was felt to be necessary to complete the sense, and it appears as an

addition above the line after *ἄξιον*. P takes it into the text in this new place.

(6) c. Cels. iv. 99 (Lomm. II. p. 162) = Philoc. c. xx (Lomm. p. 162). *οὔκουν ἀνθρώπῳ πεποίηται τὰ πάντα* Philoc. rightly.

In V *τὰ* was omitted and *πάντα* alone was read: then *πάντα* was altered into *ταῦτα* with such care that the marks of erasure are only faintly perceptible. P accepts the new reading as its text. This one instance would by itself be almost overwhelming proof that P must be copied from V.

It would not be difficult to increase this list of changes made in V after its original transcription and tacitly accepted by P as the true text; and indeed to increase it indefinitely, if we were content to reckon instances where the text is not demonstrably depraved by the alteration. But I have refrained from quoting such cases, because, as I have said, it might be answered that in them V had only been corrected back to the common archetype from which P had not diverged. But to the instances I have given such a reply cannot, I think, be made.

I now pass on to consider the cases quoted by Dr Koetschau as proving beyond a doubt that P cannot be copied from V.

(1) c. Cels. iv. 70 (Lomm. II. p. 107). Dr Koetschau says (p. 59 n. 4): 'Here the first hand of Vat. has omitted the words, *ἐν τοῖς ἀπευκτοῖς· χρησιμωτάτους δ' ἔσεσθαι*, owing to the *ἔσεσθαι* which precedes them; and the second hand has restored them in the margin. But in Par. only the words *χρησιμωτάτους δ' ἔσεσθαι* are omitted. If the scribe of Par. had taken the words *ἐν τοῖς ἀπευκτοῖς* from the margin of Vat., it is inconceivable that he should have overlooked the words *χρ. δ' ἔσ.*, which are also in the margin of Vat.'

The facts are hard enough to explain anyhow: and I cannot think that Dr Koetschau's suggestion, that there may have been something in the common archetype to give rise to error, is likely to commend itself. But when we examine V to seek for an explanation, we find that in the margin the words are arranged thus:

ἐν τοῖς ἀπευκτοῖς.
χρησιμωτάτους
δ' ἔσεσθαι.

Evidently the stop after *ἀπευκτοῖς* threw the scribe out; and he may have supposed that the other words were meant to come in somewhere lower down, though he ultimately forgot them, or found no place for them. Thus on my hypothesis an explanation is forthcoming at once: on any other hypothesis I am quite at a loss for any probable explanation at all. I claim this passage then as a fresh proof that P is copied from V.

(2) On p. 64 Dr Koetschau gives three instances in which P has left a blank space, although the text of V is perfectly clear. These three passages then go to prove that P is independent of V: and they are to be explained by the ravages of time on the common archetype during the interval between the two copies.

This is the most serious difficulty that my hypothesis has to encounter. But on the whole I am satisfied that it is not insurmountable.

The first instance is c. Cels. v. 24 (Lomm. II. p. 206): *καὶ.....ψυχῆς* P, *καὶ ἄλλο τι ψυχῆς* V. But Dr Koetschau has apparently not observed that above the word *ἄλλο* in V there is a mark which is often placed over a dubious reading, and in the margin opposite to it is the symbol *ζτ'* (= *ζήτει*, or 'quaere'). I think that this was a sufficient reason why the scribe should suspend his judgment until he could form a conjecture of his own, as he often does, to replace the suspected reading.

The second instance, c. Cels. vi. 8 (Lomm. II. p. 314), Dr Koetschau quotes thus: *ἐπὶ τῆ.....τοῦ* P, *ἐπὶ τῆ συστάσει τοῦ* V. But here again we are not in full possession of the facts. V reads *συντάσει*, or possibly *συνστάσει*, for it is not quite clear which is intended. We can understand that here too the scribe of P might wish to wait for further light.

In the third case, c. Cels. vi. 23 (Lomm. II. p. 340), *περσῶν ἢ.....λαβόντες* P, *περσῶν ἢ καβείρων λαβόντες* V, the unfamiliar word *καβείρων* seems again to have given him pause, though it is written plainly enough.

(3) On p. 61 ff. we have a formidable list of forty striking examples of the variation of P from V. If a tolerable account can be rendered of these variants, we may rest satisfied that our hypothesis is the true solution of the problem.

(i) In four of these, namely nos. 4, 5, 10, 16, we learn from the independent evidence of the Philocalia text that V is right and P is wrong. These four then we may at once put out of court.

(ii) We may dismiss in the same way eleven other instances, where it is demonstrable from the context that V is right and P is wrong. These are nos. 6, 8, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 28, 39, 40.

(iii) In ten more the probability is either in favour of the greater accuracy of V, or else so undeterminable that they are of no value as evidence on either side. They are nos. 2, 7, 9, 14, 25, 27, 29, 32, 36, 38.

(iv) In two instances of quotation from the New Testament, nos. 1 and 31, P returns to the vulgate reading, and is therefore to be suspected.

(v) The three instances numbered 33, 34, 35, might be useful auxiliaries in a fairly strong cause, but no one would think of relying on them if they are left at all alone.

Thirty out of the forty instances of noticeable divergence between V and P are thus set on one side: and the remaining ten must now be taken singly.

No. 11. *ἀπάτην* V, *ἀπάντησιν* P. I should have reckoned this among the instances in which V was supported by the Philocalia, but that the facts are not quite accurately stated by Dr Koetschau. For V has *ἀπάντην*, and the scribe of P at first wrote *ἀπάντησιν*, but afterwards placed dots above and below the former *ν*, so as to correct the reading to *ἀπάτησιν*. The Philocalia shews us that *ἀπάτην* is the genuine reading.

No. 12. *ἡμέτερον* V, *ἥμερον* P. Here *ἥμερον* has the support of the Philocalia, and in any case is obviously right. But the Paris scribe first wrote *ἡμέτερον*, and subsequently erased it and substituted *ἥμερον*, which is spread out so as to cover the larger space.

No. 24. *ἐπικληρώσαντα* V, [*ἐπι* in ras.] *πληρώσαντα* P. But a careful examination of P shews that *π* is here written over the end portion of the erasure; so that we are led to believe that P at first had the exact reading of V, and that the new reading was an afterthought altogether.

No. 26. *ἀπολώη* V, *ἀποδώη* P. Here again the process of correction is visible in P: a darker stroke under the λ has made it into the triangular form of δ.

No. 37. *ἔχρη δ' εἰ τοῦτο ὡς τὸ εἶναι ἀληθὲς* V, *ἐχρῆν δ' εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἀληθὲς* P. Here the scribe of P, failing to emend *ὡς τὸ* into *ᾧετο*, as was done later, altered the text to save the sense.

No. 17. *ὁράσεων* V, *ὀρέων* P. The reading of V makes nonsense, and P gives the obvious correction: but Herodotus, from whom Origen is quoting, wrote *οὐρέων*.

No. 19. *εἰδώλων* V, *ἑλλήνων* P. This is in a quotation from Plato, and *εἰδῶν* is the true reading. P is thus clearly further from the truth than V, and gives us a mere guess.

We are now left with three instances only that need seriously detain us.

One of these I cannot explain away. Such weight as it has, is all against me. This is No. 30, *μὲν ὡς* V, *μένων* P. Here *μένων* must be right, and it is the Philocalia reading. There is nothing in either of the MSS to throw light on the matter. I can only congratulate the scribe of P on what I hold to be his simple and felicitous emendation.

In No. 3, *ἐπιστρεφίας* V, *ἐπιστροφῆς* P, I do not think he has been equally successful. Probably we should read the rarer word *ἐπιστρεφείας*.

No. 23 I have reserved to the end, because it involves a matter of interpretation, which cannot be summarily dismissed.

It is c. Cels. vi. 9 (Lomm. II. p. 431) = Philoc. c. xv (Lomm. p. 89). The argument is this. Certain close followers of our Lord are alone in a position to understand Him aright: such disciples as Peter; such, again, as James and John. *εἴ τίς ἐστι Πέτρος... καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἐκ λόγων τὴν γένεσιν λαβόντες μεγαλοφώνων, οἵτινες οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσι νοητῆς βροντῆς* (Philoc.). This last clause may be rendered: 'and such as derive their parentage from loud-sounding words, which in no way fall short of spiritual (as opposed to material) thunder.' Now V reads *μεγαλόφωνοί τινες, οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσιν οἱ τῆς βροντῆς*. But P reads *μεγαλόφωνοί τινες, οὐδὲν ἀποδεόυσιν υἱοὶ τῆς βροντῆς εἶναι*. This conjecture, for such I believe it to be, has indeed a kind of

momentary plausibility: but I am convinced that the true reading is that of the Philocalia, which will account for the variants. Thus by a very common contraction and a very simple itacism the passage would be written: *μεγαλοφώνοΐτινες οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσινοϊτῆς βροντῆς*, which at once produces the meaningless reading of V. Then P took the matter in hand, with his customary determination to restore an intelligible sense. He was led by the tenör of the whole passage and the expression *γένεσιν λαβόντες* to the words of S. Mark (iii. 17, *υἱοὶ βροντῆς*) which are in Origen's mind; and he hazarded the emendation *υἱοὶ τῆς βροντῆς εἶναι.*

I cannot think, as Dr Koetschau does, that this reading of P is the original text. For, in the first place, it is impossible to account for the variants if we make this our starting point. For (*a*) why should *εἶναι* have been lost both in V and in the Philocalia? (*b*) Why should so well known a phrase as 'sons of thunder' have been displaced? (*c*) Is it likely that *υἱοὶ* should have become *οἱ*, and then *-ν οἱ τῆς* have become the *νοητῆς* of the Philocalia? And, secondly, the sense of the passage is greatly weakened by the introduction of *υἱοὶ τῆς βροντῆς*. The reading of P would refer *οἵτινες* to the *εἴ τινες* before it: 'such as derive their parentage from words, loud-sounding persons who in no way fall short of being sons of thunder.' Both the sense and the construction seem to be in favour of the former reading, which I have shewn to have the superior claim to originality from the textual point of view.

I think I may now claim to have established my view that P is a copy of V. Many of the instances ranged on the other side have on a closer examination proved to be friends rather than foes. But it is due to Dr Koetschau that I should point out the great advantage which an investigator has, who goes to a MS with the knowledge that there is something dubious about particular passages, and consequently devotes special pains to discover whether there have been erasures or alterations made in them. In a MS like V the slight modifications of the original transcript are so exceedingly numerous, and it is so difficult to decide which of them were made at once by the transcriber and which by subsequent correctors, that it was

almost inevitable that many of the small details which I have mentioned should escape the eye of an earlier collator, who did not as yet know that there were variants to be accounted for.

But this condition of V makes it essentially important that much labour should be expended, not only in ascertaining its present readings, but also in noting the slightest changes or erasures. It is our only authority for Origen's words, excepting in those passages which SS. Gregory and Basil copied into their Philocalia. And conjectural emendation, to which we are ultimately driven in certain places, must have as its starting point an exact knowledge of the present condition of V. We may hope, therefore, that Dr Koetschau will delay the publication of his new text of the Contra Celsum, until he has been able himself to examine with the utmost care the one codex to which alone we can henceforth attach any value at all.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

THE DIDACHE COMPARED WITH THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

Bryennius in his edition of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* takes the *Shepherd of Hermas* to be the source of some of its sayings, namely in chaps. i., v., xi. Zahn, Funk and others, on the contrary, give the priority to the *Teaching*. In this article, in which the question of the mutual relation of the two documents is discussed, I take the titles of the *Teaching* and its chapters in their order, and compare passages in the work of "Hermas," without in the first instance assuming anything on other grounds as to the date or integrity of either writing.

1. *The Titles of the Teaching.*

The *Teaching* has for its superscription, *διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, and its first lines in the manuscript are,

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί· μία τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· κ.τ.λ.

It is disputed which title is the more authentic; but the presumption is in favour of the latter, which is embodied in the text. So in the Gospel according to St Mark, to take one example out of many, the *Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* of the opening verse is older than the superscription. In *Apost. Const.* vii. the Apostles say *ἡμεῖς ἑπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ ...φαμὲν ὡς δύο ὁδοί εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου* (chap. 1), *...ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ παρ' ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε εὐχαριστεῖν* (chap. 27). Thus the *Teaching* is quoted as *Διδαχὴ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων*. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the precepts

of the *Two Ways* are δικαιώματα κυρίου (chap. xxi.). Are there any traces of the title Διδαχὴ κυρίου κ.τ.λ. in the *Shepherd of Hermas?*

(1) In the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles* the subject matter of the Way of Life in the *Teaching* is divided into twelve sets of precepts, one of which is put into the mouth of each of the Twelve Apostles. John commences. Matthew follows with πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλεις σοι γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ. Then Peter says οὐ φονεύσεις κ.τ.λ., and so on. In Hermas likewise there are twelve *Commandments.* The *Shepherd,* like the *Eccl. Canons,* by the number of its ἐντολαί (cf. δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς, *Did.* chap. ii.) possibly hints at the διὰ τῶν δώδεκα of the *Teaching.* In *Simil.* ix. 2—15 there are twelve virgins and twelve women in black, and prophets, apostles and teachers are spoken of, as in the *Didaché.*

(2) In *Simil.* ix. 17 of Hermas it is written, τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα τὰ δώδεκα δώδεκα φυλαί εἰσιν αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον· ἐκηρύχθη οὖν εἰς ταύτας ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. And he explains his φυλαί by ἔθνη—Ἄκουε, φησίν· αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ αὗται αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα ἔθνη εἰσί, thus saying in effect that Christ was preached to the twelve ἔθνη of the world διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, the peculiar number twelve assigned to the nations, instead of the usual seventy, to which the Seventy Apostles correspond, being suggested perhaps by the διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων of the *Teaching.* According to the *Eccl. Canons* quoted above, the Twelve Apostles were commanded ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, that is to say, to preach them [πᾶσι] τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, and for that purpose the world was divided into provinces according to their number. In the Greek there is apparently a hiatus at πρὸ τοῦ· Μέλλετε κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, but the Coptic version reads, "He enjoined us saying (whereas we had not yet divided the countries among us), Ye shall divide them among you so that each one may take his place according to your number." If this later work assigns a specific ἐντολή of the *Teaching* and an ἔθνος to each of the Twelve Apostles, we may think that Hermas, in his passage about the twelve nations as well as by his twelve *Commandments,* is referring to the title διδαχὴ κυρίου

διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. In the Gospel the Apostles correspond to the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. xix. 28): the nations also are called "tribes" (xxiv. 30).

2. *Chapters i., ii.*

In *Mand.* ii. of Hermas we read:

ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς· πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῷός ἐστιν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι ἁπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ.

In chap. i. of the *Teaching* there is a parallel passage:

παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων· μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε· καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται, ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς.

To this add from chap. iv.:

οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις, γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

There are several indications that the passage from Hermas is not original.

μὴ διστάζων] *διστάζων* is a remarkable word, and its connexion with *δοῦναι* is almost unique. If we find *διστάζειν δοῦναι* in the *Shepherd* and the *Two Ways* only, the presumption is that the passages in which it is found are not independent. That Hermas knew the saying *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι κ.τ.λ.* is evident from the following passages:

Simil. ii., *ὅταν οὖν ἀναφθῇ ὁ πλούσιος ἐπὶ τὸν πένητα καὶ χορηγήσῃ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, πιστεύων ὅτι ὃ ἐργάσεται εἰς τὸν πένητα δυνήσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ...*

ἐπιχορηγεῖ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τῷ πένητι πάντα ἀδιστάκτως...ἐκ τῶν δωρημάτων τοῦ κυρίου.

Simil. ix. 24, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχορήγησαν ἀνονειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως. ὁ οὖν κύριος ἰδὼν τὴν ἁπλότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν νηπιότητα ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κόποις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχαρίτωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν.

Thus he virtually quotes the saying οὐ διστάσεις κ.τ.λ. of (if not from) the *Teaching*, with the variation ὀνειδίσεις for γογγύσεις, perhaps under the influence of St James, who writes in chap. i. 5, 6, αἰτείτω παρὰ τοῦ διδόντος θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος, καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ· αἰτείτω δὲ ἐν πίστει μηδὲν διακρινόμενος. Cf. in *Mand.* ii. πᾶσιν δίδου ἁπλῶς.

But he not only quotes, he misquotes, and thus makes it still plainer that he is a copyist. In the original, οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι is an injunction not to hesitate whether to give at all or not: Hermas however makes it a command not to *discriminate* between one and another in giving*. Afterwards he expresses this better in the words μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ. Corresponding to the μηδὲν διακρινόμενος of St James as cited above he writes in *Mand.* ix. 2—6, αἰτοῦ ἀδιστάκτως κ.τ.λ. In St James i. 5, 6 the thing to be asked for is not alms but σοφία. Hermas knows this and writes, αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν κ.τ.λ. (*Sim.* v. 4, 3; ix. 2, 6), substituting for σοφία [*Vis.* i. 3, 4] a *Didaché* word taken from chap. xii., σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

δωρημάτων] A word from St James (i. 17) substituted for χαρισμάτων. It is used again in *Sim.* ii. 7. Cf. Rom. v. 16.

ὑστερουμένοις] Omit this, and the passage has the clear and consistent sense, "Give to all indiscriminately, throwing the responsibility of receiving unworthily upon the receiver"; which is also the meaning of the *Teaching*. But Hermas says, "Give to all *that need*, for God wills that we should give to all whether they need or not." Notice in the *Teaching* ὑστερούντων (xi., end), and θλιβόμενον (v.).

* Compare the strained use of St Matthew's δυσκόλως in *Sim.* viii. 10, 3, δυσκόλως δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖται.

οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει κ.τ.λ.] *Sim.* ix. 19, 3, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ λήμματος ὑπεκρίθησαν, καὶ...τίσουσι δίκην τινά. Notice in chap. ii. of the *Teaching*, οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής, and the like collocation in chap. v.; and compare, "Lying leads to theft" (chap. iii.).

κόπων] The phrase ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι is clearly composite, and combines the precepts to give of one's χαρίσματα and to labour to have to give [Eph. iv. 28]. The whole passage in which it stands is a farrago of the three sayings of the *Teaching*, (1) παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ., (2) ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ., (3) οὐ διστάσεις κ.τ.λ. It mars the sense of (1) by interpolating ὑστερουμένοις, which (as Bryennius saw) corresponds to the μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς of (2). It connects τίνι δῷς with (3), which it misquotes. And it has κόπων, corresponding to ἱδρωτάτω, in a phrase which again mixes up (1) and (2). Notice that ἐκ τῶν κόπων occurs in two of the three passages cited above from the *Shepherd*: the idea of the μισθός from God in *Simil.* ii. and ix. (ὁ οὖν κύριος κ.τ.λ.) and at the end of *Mand.* ii., ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἁπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ θεῷ ζήσεται: and μὴ διστάζων likewise, or its equivalent, in all three contexts. With the third passage compare also in *Mand.* ii. Ἁπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἄκακος γίνου [*Did.* iii.] καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νήπια.

ἱδρωτάτω] Observe that in *Sim.* v. 6, 2,...οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀμπελὼν δύναται σκαφῆναι ἄτερ κόπου καὶ μόχθου, where ἱδρῶτος would have been very appropriate, Hermas does not use the word. In *Vis.* iii. 9, a parallel to *Mand.* ii., he writes, Ἀκούσατέ μου τέκνα [*Did.* iv.], ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα κ.τ.λ. διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στάξαντος τὴν δικαιοσύνην, a form of expression suggested by, ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου, which Hermas spiritualises. Cf. στάζειν ἱδρῶτα.

ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην]* He allegorises ἐν συνοχῇ in *Vis.* iii. 7, 6, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἁρμόσαι· ἑτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἁρμόσουσιν πολὺ ἐλάττονι, καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπλη-

* The reader who is less familiar with the *Teaching* than with the *Epistle of St James* will see at once from sect. 9 (p. 320) how Hermas was accustomed to use his materials.

ρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ. ὅτι μετέλαβον [*Did.* i., οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι. *Sim.* ix. 31, 5, in the Greek of Antiochus, οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ δικαίου. The round stones have to be squared (*Vis.* iii. 6, 6). Notice in 7, 1—2, for the connexion with the *Way of Life*, τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν...πλανῶνται ...ζῶντος [*Did.* i. and vi.]. *Sim.* vi. 3, 1, μαστιγούμενα καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενα [*Vis.* iii. 7, 1]...οὕτως ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ ἀνοχὴν ὅλως οὐκ εἶχον. *Sim.* vi. 5, 1, περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ τρυφῆς [*Did.* xvi., πίστεως] καὶ βασάνου κ.τ.λ. Cf. Matt. xviii. 34. *Sim.* vi. 3, 6, κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν. *Sim.* ix. 28, 4, ἐξητάσθησαν. 7, παραδοθήσεσθε εἰς δεσμωτήριον. *Vis.* i. 8, αἰχμαλωτισμὸν κ.τ.λ.

For more on *Did.* i. and *Mand.* ii. see in sect. 10 *b* (p. 322).

Chap. ii. Some things forbidden in this chapter are included under the term ὁμοιώματα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (*Mand.* iv. 1). Hermas uses κενός of the ψευδοπροφήτης in *Mand.* xi., and very frequently uses μνησικακεῖν and μνησικακία, words not found in the New Testament. On οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής see above (p. 301).

οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις...οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ] *Vis.* i. 3, 1, ἀλλὰ φιλότεκνος ὢν οὐκ ἐνουθέτεις σου τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ ἀφῆκας αὐτὸν καταφθαρῆναι δεινῶς.

οὐ φαρμακεύσεις] He spiritualises this in *Vis.* iii. 9, 7, μὴ γίνεσθε ὅμοιοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς· οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ φάρμακα αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν [*Did.* vi.], ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἰὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν.

οὐ κακολογήσεις...ἡ διγλωσσία] *Vis.* ii. 2, 3, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς γλώσσης ἐν ᾗ πονηρεύεται.

οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηράν] *Vis.* i. 8; ii. 8. *Sim.* ix. 28, 4.

οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον] *Sim.* ix. 24, 2, καὶ πάντοτε σπλάγχνον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων κ.τ.λ.

ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις κ.τ.λ.] *Sim.* viii. 3, 5, οὓς μὲν...vi. 3, 6, εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν. *Mand.* viii. 10, ἁμαρτάνοντας νουθετεῖν. *Sim.* ix. 11. 3, λίαν γάρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν κ.τ.λ. *Vis.* i. 1, 5, ἐλέγξω.

3. *Chapter iii.*

The theme of the chapter is, τέκνον μου φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. Hermas writes, Ἔτι γάρ, φημί, κύριε, πονηρὰ ἔργα ἐστί; καί γε πολλά... κλέμμα,

ψεῦσμα, ἀποστέρησις, ψευδομαρτυρία, πλεονεξία, ἐπιθυμία πονηρά, ἀπάτη, κενοδοξία, ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοιά εἰσιν (*Mand.* viii.). Cf. *ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν* (*Mand.* iv. 1), *παραπλήσια καὶ ὅμοια* (*Mand.* vi. 2).

The chapter continues,

μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον. μηδὲ ζηλωτής, μηδὲ ἐριστικός, μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται.

Hermas [*Mand.* xii. 4, 1, *ὀργίλως*] may have had this for his text when he wrote in *Mand.* v. 2:

ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πρῶτον μὲν μωρά ἐστιν, ἐλαφρά τε καὶ ἄφρων. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἶτα ἡ μῆνις αὐτὴ ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν συνισταμένη γίνεται ἁμαρτία μεγάλη καὶ ἀνίατος.

He teaches that irascibility leads on step by step to *ἁμαρτία μεγάλη*, and his repeated *γίνεται ἐκ* [*Vis.* iii. 8, 7, *γεννᾶται*] corresponds to *γεννῶνται ἐκ* in the *Teaching*. Cf. *Sib. Orac.* ii. 135; *Phocyl.* 83. *Mand.* v. begins with *Μακρόθυμος γίνου*, another precept of chap. iii.

ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία κ.τ.λ.] *Vis.* i. 2, 4, *ἁμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα*. *Mand.* iv. 1, 8, *ἐπισπᾶται*. Cf. *Sim.* v. 3, 6. On *μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος* see p. 306.

On his apparent reference to the warning against divination, *τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος κ.τ.λ. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται*, see under chap. xi. (p. 313).

τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου ψεύστης ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν] This is one of the most remarkable sayings in the *Teaching*. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria, and must have been of some antiquity when he wrote. The same thought is expressed by Hermas in *Mand.* iii., thus:

Πάλιν μοι λέγει, Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ ὁ θεὸς κατῴκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ ἀληθὲς εὑρεθῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ οὕτως δοξασθήσεται ὁ κύριος ὁ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν· ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεῦδος. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην

ἦν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἄψευστον. τοῦτο ἐὰν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταί.

Comparing the sayings,

ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν,
οἱ ψευδόμενοι γίνονται ἀποστερηταί,

and taking into account their singular character, we may safely say that one of them depends upon the other. Which then is the original? The former is one of a series of sayings on the Decalogue, and Hermas seems to be attempting to illustrate and justify it, as it is a saying of some difficulty. The spirit of man, he says, is given him on trust by the Lord. Lying corrupts it, so that when the time comes to restore the παρακαταθήκη he cannot give it back in its integrity. Thus he becomes an ἀποστερητής. Such a treatment of the text *Lying leads to theft* is quite in the style of the *Shepherd*. On the other hand great difficulties would have to be overcome before it could be made out that this saying is based upon the words of Hermas.

τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντὸς οὓς ἤκουσας] *Vis.* i. 2, 1, πεφρικώς. 3, 3, πάντα γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα ἔκφρικτα, ἃ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος βαστάσαι [*Did.* vi.]. His synonym for τρέμων is from James ii. 19. *Vis.* iii. 1, 5, τρόμος...καὶ ὡσεὶ φρίκη. *Sim.* ix. 28, end, διαπαντός. *Vis.* iv. 7, οὗ ἀκηκόειν.

τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα κ.τ.λ.] *Mand.* v. 2, 1, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῆσαι δύναται εἰς αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. 7, συμβαίνει. *Sim.* vii. 6, σὺ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ γίνου, καὶ δυνήσομαι πᾶσαν θλῖψιν ὑπενεγκεῖν. *Sim.* ix. 12, end, ἄτερ (cf. v. 4, 5; 7, 4). 27, 2, θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.

Several other expressions from chap. iii. are used by Hermas, some of them frequently.

4. *Chapters* iv.—vi.

Chap. iv. With οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ compare in Hermas, οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν, τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς (*Mand.* xi.); and in *Vis.* iii. 4, σοὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἄρα ἔσται ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔσται (V. L. ἔστι...οὐκ ἔστιν).

It has been already shewn (p. 299) that Hermas was acquainted with the saying, *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι κ.τ.λ.*

τέκνον μου κ.τ.λ. ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν] *Apost. Const.* vii. 9, *ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλία ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν.* Hermas, after his manner, changes *κυριότης* into *θεότης*, but shews traces of the original expression. *Sim.* v. 6, 1, *κυριότητα. Mand.* xi. 10, *τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου.* In *Mand.* x. 1 he contrasts those who give themselves *φιλίαις ἐθνικαῖς* instead of associating with the saints, *μηδὲ ἐπιζητήσαντες περὶ τῆς θεότητος πιστεύσαντες δὲ μόνον*, with those who live in the fear of God, *ἐρευνῶντες περὶ θεότητος κ.τ.λ.*, and he ends with an inversion of the saying of the *Teaching*, *ὅπου γὰρ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ καὶ σύνεσις πολλή. κολλήθητι οὖν τῷ κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ. Mand.* iv. 1, 3, *ὅπου γὰρ σεμνότης κατοικεῖ κ.τ.λ.* (cf. *Vis.* iii. 5, 1; *Mand.* v. 2, 8).

ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων ἵνα ἐπαναπαῇς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν] *Vis.* i. 3, 2, *ὁ λόγος ὁ καθημερινὸς κ.τ.λ.* 3, *παῆναι. Vis.* iii. 3, 5, *τὰς ἐκζητήσεις.* 9, 4, *ἐκζητεῖτε. Vis.* iv. 3, 6, with a necessary variation, *μὴ διαλίπῃς λαλῶν εἰς τὰ ὦτα* [James v. 4] *τῶν ἁγίων* (*Epist. Barn.* xix., *εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι*). *Sim.* viii. 9, 1, *...καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς κ.τ.λ.*

οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους] *Vis.* iii. 6, 3, &c.

εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε κ.τ.λ.] *Sim.* ii., on the Elm and the Vine, is an exposition of this. 9, *...κοινωνοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ δικαίου κ.τ.λ.*

κρινεῖς δικαίως...οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου...ἐν πικρίᾳ σου] *Mand.* v. 2, 2, *ἐν πικρίᾳ.* Allegorically in *Sim.* vi. 3, 2, *ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ οὕτως...πικρὸς κ.τ.λ.* 6, *δουλεύουσι τῷ κυρίῳ...λέγοντες ὅτι δίκαιος κριτής ἐστι. Did.* v., *ἄνομοι κριταί.*

ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ] Hermas, a slave, says to his mistress (*Vis.* i. 1, 7) *ἦ πότε σοι αἰσχρὸν ῥῆμα ἐλάλησα; οὐ πάντοτέ σε ὡς θεὰν ἡγησάμην*;*

* The explanation of *ὡς θεάν* is by Mr J. Armitage Robinson who, having read the proof of the article, has carried on the investigation and made numerous suggestions. Some of these are embodied in the notes on *οὐ φαρμακεύσεις* (ii), *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους* (iii), *εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε* (iv), *προειρημένα* (xi), *σύνεσιν κ.τ.λ.* (xii), *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν* and *βασιλεὺς μέγας* (xiv), while some could not be included within the limits of the article.

οὐ πάντοτέ σε ἐνετράπην ὡς ἀδελφήν; τί μου καταψεύδῃ, ὦ γύναι, τὰ πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα; By *αἰσχρὸν ῥῆμα* he refers to *αἰσχρολογία* as leading to *μοιχεία* (*Did.* iii., v.).

ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ] These words, following *ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ*, confirm the above suggestion as to *ὡς θεάν*, the one expression being represented in Hermas by *ἢ πότε αἰσχρὸν ῥῆμα κ.τ.λ.* and the other by *ἐνετράπην*. To speak of esteeming as a goddess and as a sister and without immodesty is a curious bathos which wanted explanation. It has betrayed Hilgenfeld into an emendation, *θείαν* for *θεάν*. "Denn wer hat mit Göttinnen weniger zu thun als Hermas?...Aber das *θεὰν* ist offenbar zu berichtigen in *θείαν*, Tante, wozu das folgende *ἀδελφὴν* gut stimmt" (*Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theologie*, 1878, p. 126). There is a clear trace of *ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ* in *Sim.* ii. 2, *ταῦτα τὰ δύο δένδρα, φησίν, εἰς τύπον κεῖνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ*, an inversion of *τύπον θεοῦ τοῖς δούλοις*.

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου] His way of expressing *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* is characteristic. In *Vis.* iii. 1 the Church personified promises to appear to Hermas: he is confessing his sins and she comes, *καὶ ἐπεστάθη μοι καὶ κατεκροᾶτο προσευχομένου καὶ ἐξομολογουμένου τῷ κυρίῳ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου*. He confesses in the presence and hearing of the Church. *Mand.* iv. 4, *παραπτώμασιν κ.τ.λ.* ix. 7, *παράπτωμα* a hindrance to prayer.

καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ] *Mand.* iii. 4, *...πονηρὰν συνείδησιν...μηδὲ λύπην ἐπάγειν κ.τ.λ.* He uses *λύπη* as a synonym for *συνείδησις πονηρά*, amalgamates the sayings of *Did.* iv. and xiv. on confession of *παραπτώματα*, and writes in *Mand.* x. 3, 2—3 (ed. Hilgf.), *...ἐντυγχάνων μὴ ἐξομολογούμενος...μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* [*Did.* xiv., *θυσία καθαρά*].

The chapter ends, *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς*. A corresponding saying used repeatedly by Hermas is, that if a man does so and so,...*ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ*.

Many more traces of the chapter may be easily found in Hermas.

Chap. v. Of the *Way of Death* it is said, *πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή.* Hermas writes in *Mand.* vi.:

τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλήν...ὅρα νῦν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων, καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά ...ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαγὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστι παντὶ ἔργῳ.

He repeats the phrase *πρῶτον πάντων* frequently, and writes *πρῶτοι πάντων ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ* in *Simil.* ix. 29. This *Way* is a recapitulation of things forbidden in the *Way of Life.*

Chap. vi. With *θεῶν νεκρῶν* in this chapter compare in *Mand.* xii. 6, *τὴν δὲ ἀπειλὴν τοῦ διαβόλου ὅλως μὴ φοβηθῆτε· ἄτονος γάρ ἐστιν ὥσπερ νεκροῦ νεῦρα.* With *εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου...εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι κ.τ.λ.* compare *Vis.* i. 3, 3, *ἃ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος βαστάσαι.* iii. 8, 2, *βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου. Sim.* ix. 2, 4, *ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν.* 4, 1—2, *ἐβάσταζον αἱ δοκοῦσαι δυναταὶ εἶναι...ἦν βαστάζουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον.* 14, 5, *τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει κ.τ.λ.* Matt. xi. 30, *ζυγός...φορτίον.*

5. *Chapters* vii., viii.

Chap. vii. The title *Διδαχὴ κ.τ.λ. τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* primarily applies only to the *Two Ways*, although it came to be used of the entire *Teaching* (p. 297). The words *ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ. ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι* mark the transition to the second part of the manual, which is also recognised by Hermas in *Vis.* i. 4, 2*, *ταῦτα τὰ ἔσχατα τοῖς δικαίοις, τὰ δὲ πρότερα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις.* The first part of what the Church had read from her book (i. 3, 3—4) consisted of *ῥήματα ἔκφρικτα* [*Did.* iv., *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους κ.τ.λ.*]. The *ἔσχατα ῥήματα* were *σύμμετρα καὶ ἥμερα*, and to the effect, *Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων...θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων καὶ...κτίσας τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.* In the parallel passage of *Vis.* iii. 3, 5 it is explained, *ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται· τεθεμελίωται δὲ ὁ πύργος τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος.* The reference is therefore, as in *Did.* vii., to baptism *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, the "living water" being spiritualised into water of life,

* He likewise recognises other divisions of the *Teaching* (p. 316).

ζωοποιοῦν (*Sim.* ix. 16). The ὄνομα, *into* which it is said βαπτίσατε, is ἀχώρητον (*Sim.* ix. 14, 5), and itself, or ὁ θεός, πάντα χωρεῖ (*Mand.* i. 1), in accordance with the literal sense of the formula. The names, πατήρ, υἱός and πνεῦμα ἅγιον occur elsewhere in the *Shepherd.*

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἐκχέον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν κ.τ.λ.] On the hypothesis that Hermas knew these sayings, we may be sure that he would have worked them up in some way, and we have accordingly to seek for traces of them in the *Shepherd.* The contrast of ζῶν and ἄλλο may have suggested that some went down ζῶντες and came up ζῶντες, and others went down νεκροί and came up ζῶντες (*Sim.* ix. 16, 6). Traces of ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς are found in *Vis.* iii. 5, 2, where some of the stones for building the tower are brought, not ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ but ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς, and *Sim.* ix. 16, 4, ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν. 7, μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγῖδα ταύτην οὐκ εἶχον. Lastly we find in *Mand.* v. 1, 5, ἐπιχέῃς, and in xi. 20, ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπου. In the latter passage there are two similes, namely of ἡ χάλαζα and τὴν σταγόνα dropping from above, both of them symbols of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενον. Thus he brings together "water and the spirit," and so as to hint at the special mode of baptism, ἐκχέον [Joel ii. 29; Tit. iii. 6] εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν. But why these two forms of water? If χάλαζα falls upon a man's head, πῶς πόνον παρέχει. If he cannot bear cold water use warm.

With τὴν σταγόνα κ.τ.λ. compare *Vis.* iii. 9, 1, Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα· ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πολλῇ ἁπλότητι καὶ ἀκακίᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στάξαντος [2 Macc. viii. 27] τὴν δικαιοσύνην (p. 301).

προνηστευσάτω κ.τ.λ.] *Vis.* iii. 1, Hermas fasts before receiving a revelation from the Church, which corresponds as nearly as may be to the fast before baptism. See on ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, p. 306. A saying in chap. i. is illustrated by the efficacy attributed to fasting in *Vis.* iii. 10, νήστευσον οὖν καὶ λήμψῃ ὃ αἰτεῖς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου.

Chap. viii. To the fast days of the *Teaching* corresponds the use of στατίων in *Sim.* v. 1, 1—2. Thereupon follows a dis-

course on true fasting, probably from the text *αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν.*

On the Lord's Prayer suffice it here to compare *Mand.* viii. 10, *χρεώστας μὴ θλίβειν*, with *τοῖς ὀφειλέταις κ.τ.λ.*

6. *Chapters* ix., x.

(ix) *πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

(x) *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἅγιε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. σὺ δέσποτα παντόκρατορ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

The "Holy Vine" of David may have suggested to Hermas his parable of the vineyard in *Simil.* v. A certain man had a field and many slaves; and he planted a vineyard in part of his field, and put a faithful slave in charge of it, with orders only to fence it while he was away, promising him his freedom if he did this. But the slave also digged and weeded the vineyard; and the Master, on his return from his journey, rejoiced greatly at what he had done over and above what he was commanded, and when after a few days he made a supper, he sent the slave *ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐδέσματα πολλά.* And he, keeping only what sufficed for himself, *τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ διέδωκεν.* In the interpretation of the parable, *ὁ ἀγρὸς ὁ κόσμος οὗτός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ ἐνδυναμώσας. ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν... τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα ἃ ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου αἱ ἐντολαί εἰσιν ἃς ἔδωκε τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.* So in the *Teaching*, where the Vine is spoken of, Jesus is called *παῖς*, which means *servant* rather than *child*; and "*spiritual food and drink*" are given to men *διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.* Cf. in *Simil.* ix. 11, *Τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησας; Ἐδείπνησα, φημί, κύριε, ῥήματα κυρίου ὅλην τὴν νυκτά.* And compare *τόπον κατασκηνώσεως* in *Simil.* v. 6, and *τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας φοροῦντας τὸ*

ὄνομα αὐτοῦ in *Simil.* ix. 14, with the mention of the Name, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, in chap. x. of the *Teaching;* not omitting a reference to Psalm xvi. 9, cited in Acts ii. 26, ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

(ix). ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν.

(x). μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου...τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν.

Given that Hermas knew and used the *Teaching*, it was to be expected that he would make something out of the parable of the κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον, which arrests the attention of every reader. Accordingly we find that, whereas the *Teaching* represents the Church as to be gathered from ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων and ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, Hermas has a parable of πεδίον μέγα κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ὄρη δώδεκα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἰδέαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄρη (*Simil.* ix. 1), the mountains representing the nations of the whole world, to whom the Son of God was preached διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων and εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς (*Simil.* ix. 17; viii. 3). None might enter εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ λάβοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (*Simil.* ix. 12).

In the midst of the plain rose the great white rock on which the tower was to be built. It was *higher than the mountains*, "foursquare," παλαιά but having a new πύλη, both rock and gate representing the Son of God, who ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο (*Simil.* ix. 2. 3. 12). Cf. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD'S house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it" (Isaiah ii. 2; Micah iv. 1). *Vis.* i. 3, 4, τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνούς, as the LXX. in the above verses, and in Isaiah xl. 4.

ἐγένετο ἕν] The tower was built ὡσὰν ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου μὴ ἔχων μίαν ἁρμογὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ...μονόλιθος γάρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι (*Simil.* ix. 9. 17. 18; *Vis.* iii. 2). The mountains being so various in character, how came it that, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὅταν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι αὐτῶν μιᾷ χρόᾳ ἐγένοντο? Ὅτι, φησί, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη...λαβόντες τὴν σφραγῖδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον

καὶ ἕνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ μία ἀγάπη... μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενέσθαι ἓν σῶμα κ.τ.λ. (ix. 17). *οἱ πιστεύσαντες....ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, εἰς ἓν σῶμα, καὶ μία χρόα τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν....ἓν πνεῦμα καὶ ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν ἔνδυμα* (ix. 13). The tower is the antithesis of the tower of Babel.

τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν] Hermas personifies the Church as a woman, calls it *ἁγία*, and identifies it with the tower (*Vis.* iv. 2; i. 1; *Simil.* ix. 13). In *Sim.* ix. 18 he speaks of a cleansing of the Church, after which it shall be *ἓν σῶμα, μία φρόνησις, μία ἀγάπη. καὶ τότε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειληφὼς τὸν λαὸν αὐτῷ καθαρόν.* Compare in Eph. v. 25, *ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ καθαρίσας.*

Hermas follows St James (ii. 2) in his use of *συναγωγή*, writing in *Mand.* xi., *εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίζει ...ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ κ.τ.λ.* Compare in Clem. *Strom.* vi. 3, end (p. 756, ed. Potter), *ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφιγμένη* [*Did.* ix., x., xvi., *συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία κ.τ.λ.*].

Chap. x. ends, *τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. Vis.* iii. 3, 3, *ὃ ἂν οὖν θελήσῃς ἐπερώτα κ.τ.λ. ἵνα χαρῇς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων.* Hermas seems to limit the liberty of the prophets when he writes in *Mand.* xi. 8, of the true as against the false prophet, *οὐδὲ ὅταν θέλῃ ἄνθρωπος λαλεῖν λαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τότε λαλεῖ ὅταν θελήσῃ αὐτὸ ὁ θεὸς λαλῆσαι.*

7. *Chapters* xi.—xvi.

Chap. xi. *ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα*] A mark of subdivision, of which there are traces in *Mand.* ix. 4; x. 1, 5. *Sim.* viii. 11, 3; ix. 29, 3.

Hermas discourses at some length on true and false prophets in *Mand.* xi., in which he writes:

οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν, τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς...Πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἄνθρωπος γνώσεται τίς αὐτῶν προφήτης καὶ τίς ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν; Ἄκουε, φησί, περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν· καὶ ὥς σοι μέλλω λέγειν, οὕτω δοκιμάσεις τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην. ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς δοκίμαζε τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον...ἔχεις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν

ζωήν. δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.

In chap. xi. of the *Teaching* it is said:

οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.

The phrase "false-prophet and prophet," instead of true prophet (xi., xiii.) and false, is remarkable; and when we find the same form of antithesis in Hermas it is enough to suggest that the passages are not independent. Notice further in Hermas the expression τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα, with its proper application in the first instance, from which he passes to the case of pseudo-inspiration; and compare the double meaning of ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι in the *Teaching*. Granted that it were *prima facie* an open question whether in these particulars the *Teaching* borrowed from Hermas or he from the *Teaching*, the words οἱ δίψυχοι...τί ἄρα ἔσται would help to turn the scale. If these be a reminiscence of the Διδαχή, may not the sayings on prophets and false-prophets in the same context be referred to the same source? On a comparison of chapters xi.—xv. of the *Teaching* with the *Shepherd* in the matter of the status of the prophet in the Christian ministry, the *Teaching* seems to emanate from the earlier age. The prophet by the time of Hermas is becoming a survival, and his καθέδρα out of date (*Mand.* xi. 1. *Vis.* i. 4, 1; iii. 11, 2).

Hermas explains in *Mand.* xi. 5—10 what it is to have τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου [*Sim.* v. 6, 1], thus:

πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθὲν οὐκ ἐπερωτᾶται, ἀλλὰ ἔχον τὴν δύναμιν τῆς θεότητος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλεῖ πάντα...ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων...τότε ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος ὁ κείμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν πληροῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ λαλεῖ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος καθὼς ὁ κύριος βούλεται...ὅση οὖν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου, ἡ δύναμις αὕτη.

The false prophets have multiplied [*Did.* xvi.]. They live ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς (*Mand.* xi. 12), as against the precepts, πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς

and *εἰ μὴ ἄρτον* [*Sim.* v. 3, 7] *ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ κ.τ.λ.* They teach *τινὰ ἀληθῆ* (3), instead of *τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. Hermas dwells on the duties of the prophet but passes over his privileges, as *οὐ πειράσετε κ.τ.λ.* [*Did.* xi.].

πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινὸς ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας κ.τ.λ. οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν...οὕτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται] *Vis.* i. 2, 4, *πνεῦμα... δεδοκιμασμένον*. *Mand.* iii. 1, *ἀληθινός*. The building of the tower is a *μυστήριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, although not so called by Hermas. But he uses the synonym *τύπος* several times. *Vis.* iv. 2, 5, *τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τύπος* [Rev. xvii. 7, *μυστήριον*]. Taking *cosmic* in a bad sense, he replaces it by a word taken from St James, *ἐπιγεῖον* (*Mand.* xi. 12), but hints at the omitted word by his *ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, that is *κοσμικάς* (Tit. ii. 12). He omits *οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν*. *Vis.* iii. 5, 1, the prophets excepted, *οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι* [*Did.*, *ἀρχαῖοι*] *οἱ δὲ ἔτι ζῶντες...συνεφώνησαν*.

With *Didaché* phrases compare also, *πρῶτον πραΰς ἐστι καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας*. And of the false prophet, *ὑψοῖ ἑαυτὸν...μισθοὺς λαμβάνει...εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίζει, κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς κ.τ.λ.* And notice *πυκνῶς* (*Mand.* xi. 4) and *μονάζοντες κ.τ.λ.* (*Sim.* ix. 26, 3. *Epist. Barn.* iv.), comparing *πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε κ.τ.λ.* in *Did.* xvi.

Immediately before *πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθεν* (p. 312), he writes:

ὅσοι δὲ δίψυχοί εἰσι καὶ πυκνῶς μετανοοῦσι μαντεύονται ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἑαυτοῖς μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσιν εἰδωλολατροῦντες· ὁ γὰρ ἐπερωτῶν προφήτην περὶ πράξεώς τινος εἰδωλολάτρης ἐστὶ καὶ κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἄφρων.

If in the context, as there is reason to think, he has the *Teaching* in mind, we may conclude that he is here referring to its warning against divination in chap. iii., *ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν...ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται*. With *κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας* compare, *οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός* (chap. ii.).

Chap. xii. *σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν*] Is he

attempting to find a meaning for this in *Vis.* iii. 2, 1? Cf. again *Sim.* ix. 2, 7, *σύνεσιν...τὰ ὀπίσω σου ἰδεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι τεχνίτης ὢν ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην...προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός· εἰ δὲ οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν χριστέμπορός ἐστιν] Compare *Sim.* i., ending, *τὸ δὲ σὸν ἔργον* [*Did. τέχνην*] *ἐργάζου καὶ σωθήσῃ.* ix. 9, 2, *ταύτην τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἔχω.* v. 4, 4, *μὴ ὢν ἀργός.* viii. 6, 4, *τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς.* 9, 1, *ἐνέμειναν τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργαζόμενοι κ.τ.λ. Mand.* x. 1, 4, *πιστεύσαντες δὲ μόνον κ.τ.λ. Vis.* iii. 6, 2—7, *ἄχρηστοι* κ.τ.λ. Vis.* ii. 2, 7 and *Sim.* ix. 25, 2, *πάροδος* [*Did. παρόδιος*].

Chap. xiii. *ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ κ.τ.λ.*] He will not say, give the firstfruits to the prophets, but turns aside and says, *ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς ἀποθήκην στιβάσῃς οἶνον ἢ ἔλαιον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς θῇς κεράμιον κενὸν καὶ πάλιν ἀποστιβάσαι θελήσῃς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ κεράμιον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἔθηκας κενόν, κενὸν καὶ εὑρήσεις. οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφῆται κ.τ.λ.* (*Mand.* xi. 15). In *Mand.* v. 1, 5—6, the defilement (*μιαίνεται*) by *ἀψινθίου μικρὸν λίαν* corresponds to the consecration by *ἀπαρχή. Vis.* i. 2, 2 and *Sim.* viii. and ix., *ἱματισμός.*

Chap. xiv. *ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾖ*] *Sim.* v. 3, 8, *ἔσται ἡ θυσία σου δεκτή. Mand.* xii. 4, 2, *ἵνα ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν καθαρὰ γένηται.* Cf. p. 306.

ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί] *Vis.* iii. 9, 8, *παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.* The subject of reconciliation precedes.

Chap. xv. *χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους κ.τ.λ. λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*] *Vis.* iii. 5, 1, *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι κ.τ.λ.*, the prophets only of all the Christian ministers named in the *Teaching* being omitted. *Sim.* ix. 27, 2—3, *οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι...ἁγνῶς ἀνεστράφησαν...λειτουργοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ.*

ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἔχετε

* Clem. *Strom.* II. cap. 4 (p. 438, ed. Potter), *αὐτίκα οἱ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες χρηστοί τέ εἰσι καὶ λέγονται. Cohort.* 9 (ib. p. 72), *γεύσεσθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς* [*χρηστός*] *ὁ Θεός.*

ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ] *Vis.* iii. 9, 10, *παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὑτοῖς.* 5, 1, *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰρήνην ἔσχον καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤκουον. Sim.* v. 4, 2, *ἀκηκοώς τι παρὰ σοῦ. Vis.* i. 1, 5, *ἐλέγξω.*

τὰς δὲ εὐχάς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτως ποιήσατε ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν] Hermas, as was to be expected, nowhere speaks of the *εὐαγγέλιον*, but he represents the Church personified as in possession of a *βιβλαρίδιον* or *βιβλίδιον* or *γραφή* (*Vis.* ii.). It was further to be expected that he would somehow hint at the omitted word. We have accordingly to seek for a trace of the term *εὐαγγέλιον* in the *Shepherd*, and a clear trace of it is found in *Vis.* iii. 13:

τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἱλαρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφὴν αὐτῆς· ὡς ἐὰν γάρ τινι λυπουμένῳ ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἀγαθή τις, εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἣν ἤκουσεν καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἣν ἔλαβεν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ἰδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμψελλίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἡ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμψέλλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἕστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὁλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες. ἀπέχεις ὁλοτελῆ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσῃς περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐάν τι δὲ δέῃ ἀποκαλυφθήσεταί σοι.

This gives rise to the following observations:

a. By *ἀγγελία ἀγαθή* and *ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά* the Gospel is referred to.

b. The change to the plural form of address, *οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς...ἰδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά*, points to some underlying reference which might account for it.

c. The *Teaching* says, Ye have instruction on *πάσας τὰς πράξεις κ.τ.λ.* in the Gospel. The *Shepherd*, *ἀπέχεις ὁλοτελῆ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν.*

d. The words *ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* mark the

conclusion of the chief part of the *Teaching*, the section γρηγορεῖτε κ.τ.λ. alone remaining. This division, like others (pp. 307, 311), is clearly marked in the *Shepherd*, what follows (*Vis.* iv.) relating, as we shall see, to the last chapter of the *Teaching*.

e. The συμψέλλιον is carried off to the tower (*Vis.* iii. 10), which is the Church (*Sim.* ix. 13, 1). What does this possession of the Church represent?

f. It must denote the εὐαγγέλιον, in the settled form of the Four Gospels. Hermas says in effect, There are four Gospels as there are four Elements [Heb. v. 12, τὰ στοιχεῖα κ.τ.λ.] of the world. Irenaeus after him wrote in *Adv. Haer.* lib. III. cap. 11 (ed. Harvey, vol. ii. p. 46; Migne *P. G.* vii. col. 885), that there must have been four Gospels, *neque plura neque pauciora*, and he continues:

ἐπειδὴ τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν εἰσί, καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, κατέσπαρται δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, στύλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς· εἰκότως τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους, πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐξ ὧν φανερόν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων τεχνίτης Λόγος, ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ συνέχων τὰ πάντα, φανερωθεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἑνὶ δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον...καὶ γὰρ τὰ χερουβὶμ τετραπρόσωπα...καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια οὖν τούτοις σύμφωνα, ἐν οἷς ἐγκαθέζεται Χριστός κ.τ.λ.

In the *Shepherd* the συμψέλλιον of the Church, who is the manifestation of the Son of God (*Sim.* ix. 1, 1), is borne by four νεανίσκοι (*Vis.* iii. 10, 1), and it stands firmly on τέσσαρας πόδας (13, 3). The tower, which is the Church, has four στοῖχοι in its foundations (*Sim.* ix. 4, 3), is "foursquare" (*Vis.* iii. 2, 5; *Sim.* ix. 2, 1), as looking to the τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου [Rev. xxii. 13—16], and εἰς τὰς γωνίας stand cardinal virtues (*Sim.* ix. 2, 3; 15, 1), as in Rev. vii. 1 [xx. 8] four angels κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους. *Did.* x., καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων. Although Irenaeus in this connexion does not bring in the σωματικὰ τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα (lib. I. cap. 1, 7), his analogies for the necessity of there being

four Gospels, the *τέσσαρας στύλους* of the Church, must have been suggested by Hermas, whose *Mand.* i. he cites as Scripture in *Adv. Haer.* lib. IV. (Harvey, p. 213; Migne, col. 1032). Rev. x. 1, *πόδες...στύλοι.*

g. The simile, *ὡς ἐὰν γάρ τινι λυπουμένῳ κ.τ.λ.*, resembles *ἡ γυνὴ ὅταν τίκτῃ λύπην ἔχει κ.τ.λ. ὅταν δὲ γεννήσῃ τὸ παιδίον, οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν νῦν μὲν λύπην ἔχετε κ.τ.λ.* If Hermas had intended to refer to this saying from the Fourth Gospel he would without doubt have disguised it, and one might have ventured to predict that he would do this with the help of the remarkable passage of St James, *οὗτος ἔοικεν ἀνδρὶ...εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο κ.τ.λ.*

In chap. xvi. of the *Teaching* it is said:

τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας· καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Hermas likewise predicts a great final tribulation by which many will perish, but which will be the salvation of those who suffer stedfastly: *ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάσχοντες κ.τ.λ. ζωὴν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος χαρίζεται καὶ οὐ νοεῖτε...ταῦτα ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς διστάζουσι περὶ ἀρνήσεως ἢ ὁμολογήσεως* (*Simil.* ix. 28). *οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς δοκιμάζεσθε...οἱ οὖν ἐμμείναντες καὶ πυρωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαρισθήσεσθε κ.τ.λ.* (*Vis.* iv. 3). *μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλῖψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην κ.τ.λ.* (*Vis.* ii. 2). Cf. *Vis.* iii. 7; *Simil.* iv., &c. *Vis.* iv. 1, 3, *ἐσκανδαλισμένοις.* The paradox of Salvation by the Curse is further illustrated by *Mand.* x. 1, 2, *ἡ λύπη πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων πονηροτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ δεινοτάτη τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα καταφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν σώζει.* The most wicked of spirits saves. *Sim.* vi. 5, 7, *τρυφαὶ σώζουσαι.*

σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ] *Sim.* ix. 3, 2, *ἐκπεπετάκεισαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθένοι ὡς μέλλουσαί τι λαβεῖν...* 4, *καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὰς τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγειν τοῦ πύργου βαστάζειν καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς πύλης, καὶ ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς μέλλουσιν*

οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον. 4, 8, ἵνα αἱ παρθένοι διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενέγκωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιδιδῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. ἐὰν γάρ, φασίν, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων τούτων μὴ παρενεχθῶσι διὰ τῆς πύλης, τὰς χρόας αὐτῶν ἀλλάξαι οὐ δύνανται· μὴ κοπιᾶτε οὖν, φασίν, εἰς μάτην.

a. The context shews that this ἐκπέτασις χειρῶν is a μυστήριον. With 4, 8 cf. μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ [*Did.* xi.].

b. ὡς μέλλουσαί τι λαβεῖν and ἐπιδιδόναι refer to *Did.* iv., μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.

c. διὰ τῶν χειρῶν refers to *Did.* iv., ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. The stones have to be carried through the πύλη, which is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (*Sim.* ix. 12, 1), by the outspread hands, which are a sign of the Cross*. Without this they cannot change τὰς χρόας αὐτῶν [Isaiah i. 18] or obtain λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. His allusions are "foursquare": they look all ways at once. There is yet another extension of hands, which is sufficiently remarkable to justify the suspicion that he must have referred to it.

d. *Did.* xv., χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς κ.τ.λ. They must be rightly appointed to their places in the tower, which is the Church. See *Vis.* iii. 5, 1.

καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ· καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα· καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ] Looking for a trace of ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ in the *Shepherd* we find in *Vis.* iv. 1, 5—6, καὶ ἰδοὺ βλέπω κονιορτὸν ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν... γινομένου μείζονος καὶ μείζονος κονιορτοῦ ὑπενόησα εἶναί τι θεῖον...θηρίον μέγιστον. 2, 3, δυνάμενον λαοὺς διαφθεῖραι. He is, as we may say, κοσμοφθόρος, amalgamating κοσμοπλανής with the preceding φθορεῖς. In 1, 9 we have again a σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως, a counterpart of the true sign in heaven, τὸ τηλικοῦτο κῆτος ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ χαμαὶ κ.τ.λ. *Vis.* iii. 2, 1 θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυρούς, θηρία. Lastly, remembering the contrast of the upward and the downward in *Mand.* xi. 18—21, we see in κονιορτὸν ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ. the antithesis of the coming of the Lord ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

* The word βαστάζειν itself suggests τὸν σταυρόν.

8. Having compared the *Teaching* as it has come down to us with the *Shepherd*, we must now take account of the hypothesis that it is a composite document made up of a much older short recension A of the *Two Ways;* an interpolation *a* including the sayings on almsgiving in chap. i. with more or less additional matter; and a second part B composed of chaps. vii.—xvi. We have to determine successively whether Hermas knew A, and whether he knew A + *a*, and whether he knew A + *a* + B.

A. If A at first existed separately, it was doubtless older than the *Epistle of Barnabas* and was the source of his teaching on the *Two Ways*. If so we must say that it was older than the *Shepherd*, whatever possible date we assign to that. The saying *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι κ.τ.λ.* (chap. iv.), which is quoted by "Barnabas," belonged to A, and it has been shewn under chap. i. (p. 299) that Hermas was acquainted with it. The saying *οὐ διψυχήσεις* [*Barn. οὐ μὴ -ήσῃς*] *πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ* (chap. iv.) is quoted in the *Epistle* and belonged to A, and it is evident that Hermas was acquainted with this also (p. 304). And, briefly, we may say that he knew the contents of A, not excluding chap. iii. (p. 302), of which there are not such distinct traces in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

a. Under chap. i. (p. 299) a striking parallel in Hermas has been compared with the sayings on almsgiving in *a*, and it has been concluded that Hermas was the copyist. This does not exclude the hypothesis of a common original *a* from which both Hermas and the *Teaching* drew. But when we find him amalgamating a saying of A, *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι κ.τ.λ.*, with *a*, the best solution seems to be that he is drawing from a single document, the long recension A + *a* of the *Two Ways*. His inveterate habit of repeating thoughts and phrases results in his bringing together sayings, as here on almsgiving, which belong to different contexts.

B. In default of evidence to shew that the long recension A + *a* of the *Two Ways* ever existed apart from B, we may conclude that Hermas knew the complete tract A + *a* + B or some earlier recension of it. Under chap. xi (p. 311) it has been shewn independently that his description of the prophet and the

false-prophet may have been derived from B. And notice that here again he brings together sayings from different parts of the *Teaching*, for his *οἱ δίψυχοι...τί ἄρα ἔσται* must be a reminiscence of *οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐκ ἔσται* (chap. iv.) as part of A, if he knew it in that connexion, as he doubtless did; and he is probably thinking also of chap. iii.

The significance of the many marked correspondences between the work of Hermas and the *Teaching* will appear the greater when it is remembered that his only express citation from any source is from the book of Ἐλδὰδ *καὶ* Μωδάτ, and that he gives but few and slight passing indications of his knowledge of the Old Testament.

9. *St James and Hermas.*

A few examples of adaptations from the Epistle of St James will shew how Hermas was accustomed to use his materials.

a. With James i. 8, *ἀνὴρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ*, compare in Hermas, *δίψυχος ἀνήρ* (*Mand.* ix.). *ἀκαταστατεῖ ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ, περισπωμένος ὧδε κἀκεῖσε ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων* [James i. 6, *ἀνεμιζομένῳ*] *τῶν πονηρῶν* (*Mand.* v. 2, 7). *ἀκαταστατοῦντες...λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς μὴ εὐοδοῦσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν* (*Simil.* vi. 3). And compare James iv. 8 with *καθάρισον οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας* (*Mand.* ix.).

b. James i. 26, *μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν γλῶσσαν.* iii. 2, *δυνατὸς χαλιναγωγῆσαι καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.* 4, *...ὅπου ἡ ὁρμὴ τοῦ εὐθύνοντος βούλεται.* 6, *ἡ γλῶσσα...ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας.* 8, *τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν οὐδεὶς δαμάσαι δύναται ἀνθρώπων· ἀκατάστατον κακόν, μεστὴ ἰοῦ θανατηφόρου.*

For the tongue, *ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Hermas substitutes the evil desire (James i. 15), and writes in *Mand.* xii. 1, *μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς βούλει* (2, *καθὼς αὐτὴ βούλεται*). *ἀγρία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ καὶ δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται.* In *Simil.* ix. 26 he writes, *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ θηρία διαφθείρει τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἰῷ κ.τ.λ.* Cf. *Vis.* iii. 9, *καὶ τὸν ἰὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. Vis.* ii. 2, 3, *τῆς γλώσσης ἐν ᾗ πονηρεύεται.*

c. James i. 27, *θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος κ.τ.λ. Mand.* ii. 7, *καὶ ἡ καρδία σου καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος. Sim.* i. 8, *χήρας*

καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἐπισκέπτεσθε. ix. 26, 2, οἱ τοὺς σπίλους ἔχοντες are they that robbed widows and orphans. *Vis.* iv. 3, 2, the black is this κόσμος. 5, from which the elect shall be ἄσπιλοι καὶ καθαροί.

d. James iv. 9 is easily recognised in *Vis.* i. 2, καὶ ἀσπάζεταί με, Ἑρμᾶ, χαῖρε. κἀγὼ λυπούμενος καὶ κλαίων εἶπον, Κυρία, χαῖρε. καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Τί στυγνός, Ἑρμᾶ, ὁ μακρόθυμος καὶ ἀστομάχητος, ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν, τί οὕτω κατηφὴς τῇ ἰδέᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἱλαρός ;

e. James iv. 11, μὴ καταλαλεῖτε. iii. 8, τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν... ἀκατάστατον κακόν. 9, ἐν αὐτῇ εὐλογοῦμεν...καταρώμεθα.

Compare in *Mand.* ii., πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει... πονηρὰ ἡ καταλαλία, ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιόν ἐστιν. And notice that this section of *Mand.* ii. corresponds to the section of chap. i. of the *Teaching*, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ., the two being followed by the parallel passages on almsgiving compared in sect. 2 of this article (p. 299). See sect. 10 *b*.

10. *The Twelve Commandments of Hermas.*

Much of the materials of the *Mandates* of Hermas is found in the *Teaching* and the *Epistle of St James*, and they follow the order of the *Teaching* far enough to indicate that it was known to Hermas.

a. Mand. i. Πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα...ποιήσας κ.τ.λ. πίστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ ἐγκράτευσαι...καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐὰν φυλάξῃς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην.

This agrees in subject with the first commandment of the *Teaching*, πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε. The formula ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ corresponds to ...τῆς ζωῆς in the prefatory words of the *Teaching*, and the ὁδοὶ δύο are spoken of *in connexion with Mand. i.* in *Mand.* vi., thus, Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν...νῦν θέλω σοι, φησίν, δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν. διπλαῖ γάρ εἰσιν κ.τ.λ. τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλήν. He then goes on to speak of the two angels μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, as Barnabas (*Epist.* chap. xviii.) speaks of the two kinds of angels at the beginning of his *Two Ways*.

b. Mand. ii., part of which see on p. 299, runs thus:

Λέγει μοι, Ἁπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἄκακος γίνου καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νήπια κ.τ.λ.

πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει κ.τ.λ. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐθηνίαν πάντοτε ἕξεις μετὰ πάντων. ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν σεμνότητα κ.τ.λ.

ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν...τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ. (p. 299.)

ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὕτη ἁπλῶς τελεσθεῖσα ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἁπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ θεῷ ζήσεται. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, ὡς σοι λελάληκα, ἵνα ἡ μετάνοιά σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου ἐν ἁπλότητι εὑρεθῇ, καὶ ἡ καρδία σου καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος.

It was remarked in 9*e* (p. 321) that the section, *...μηδενὸς καταλάλει κ.τ.λ.*, corresponds to the section *εὐλογεῖτε κ.τ.λ.*, in the *Teaching*. The latter ends with the unique saying, *καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν*, clearly corresponding to which in the former we find, *καὶ εὐθηνίαν πάντοτε ἕξεις μετὰ πάντων. Vis.* iii. 9, 5, *καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε.* In Dan. iv. 1 (4) *εὐθηνῶν ἤμην* stands for שלה הוית, "quietus eram." With *πρῶτον...πονηρὰ ἡ καταλαλία* compare *Did.* v., *πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή*, and *ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει* (Rom. iii. 14; Psalm x. 7). *κατάρα* in the sense *ἀρά* has for one of its synonyms *καταλαλία*.

Parallel passages on almsgiving follow in the *Shepherd* and the *Teaching*. Hilgenfeld, who (against Harnack and others) disintegrates the *Shepherd* and assigns it to three authors, namely,

Vis. i.—iv.	to Hermas apocalypticus (H. a.),
Vis. v.—*Simil.* vii.	to Hermas pastoralis (H. p.),
Simil. viii.—x.	to Hermas secundarius (H. s.),

suspects that from *ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν* to *ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ* is an interpolation by H. s. (c. 140 A.D.) in the work of H. p. (c. 97 A.D.), because of the sudden transition "a simplicitate ad beneficentiam."

It is true that this connexion occurs in H. s. (*Simil.* ix. 24, quoted on p. 300), but we must not omit to notice that it is found also in H. a., *Vis.* iii. 9, thus, *Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα· ἐγὼ*

ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πολλῇ ἁπλότητι καὶ ἀκακίᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι... νῦν οὖν ἀκούσατέ μου καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ...μεταδίδοτε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις...βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ γαυρούμενοι ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ὑμῶν, μήποτε στενάξουσιν οἱ ὑστερούμενοι, καὶ ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν κύριον [James v. 4, 9]. This calls for some further explanation of the interpolation theory. And what shall we say of the occurrence of δωρημάτων in both *Mand.* ii. and *Simil.* ii. (p. 300)? And must we say that the ἀδιστάκτως of H. p. (p. 300) was borrowed by H. s. and returned to H. p. in *Mand.* ii. in the form μὴ διστάζων, so closely resembling the οὐ διστάσεις from which H. p. derived it? It is *prima facie* a simpler hypothesis that these parallel passages on almsgiving are by one author, who used the *Teaching* and the *Epistle of St James.*

The Twelve Commandments would have been defective if they had not contained a section on almsgiving like the supposed interpolation; and when it is remembered that St Paul wrote ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι (Rom. xii. 8), it may be thought that Ἁπλότητα ἔχε was intended to lead up to δίδου ἁπλῶς, a subject suggested by the order of the *Teaching*, there being nothing else in *Mand.* ii. to which it so obviously applies.

c. Mand. iii.—v. *Mand.* iii. is founded on a saying in chap. iii. of the *Teaching* (p. 303). *Mand.* iv. is περὶ πορνείας τινὸς ἢ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν (chap. iii.). *Mand.* v. begins, Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου (chap. iii.), and describes the development of ὀξυχολία into ἁμαρτία μεγάλη in a way which points to the same context in the *Teaching.*

d. Mand. vi.—xii. Throughout the *Mandates* Hermas seems to be intending to follow the order of the personified virtues, but wanders somewhat. Seven virtues are named in *Vis.* iii. 8, twelve virtues and twelve vices in *Simil.* ix. 15. In *Mand.* vi.—viii. he makes a fresh start, bringing in φόβος [*Isaiah* xi. 1, whence also δύναμις], which is not in either list of virtues. He then treats of διψυχία the opposite of πίστις (ix.), of her sister λύπη (x.), and again of διψυχία (xi.), as an introduction to the subject of chap. xi. of the *Teaching* (p. 311). *Mand.* xii. is on the general subject of the ἐπιθυμία πονηρά

and the ἐπιθυμία ἀγαθή. *Mand.* viii. has points of contact with chap. v. of the *Teaching*, as Bryennius pointed out.

Enough has been said to indicate the true relation of the *Shepherd of Hermas* to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* The article has grown in the writing, and is not arranged quite as it would have been if the completeness with which Hermas works up the *Teaching* had been seen from the beginning. He so wraps it up in the *Shepherd* that its first editors detected but few vestiges of it therein, and were led to think that he was the lender and not the borrower.

He handles the canonical Scriptures in like fashion, the form of his work, which claims to be the embodiment of a revelation, not allowing him to cite them openly. He disguises, and we know how he disguises. If, for example, he had intended to use the sayings from the Fourth Gospel, ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα κ.τ.λ., ...οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ, we may say that he would have transformed them somewhat as follows:

a. For πατέρα he would have written θεόν or κύριον, and he would have used a synonym in place of θύρα. The mere form of his work would have sufficed to change ἐγώ...ἐμοῦ into the 3rd person.

b. Looking first to St James, without result, and then to St Matthew, he would have found the desired word πύλη in Matt. vii. 13 and xvi. 16—18. Cf. Rev. xxi. The use of πύλη and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ἡ πέτρα, the rock on which the tower or Church is built, in mutual connexion, in *Sim.* ix. 12, 1, points to an actual reference to Matt. xvi. 16—18. In *Sim.* ix. 12, 6 see the transformed sayings, ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν. αὕτη μία εἴσοδός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

c. Lastly, he would have used the rejected words in some other context. Accordingly we note in *Vis.* iii. 9, 6—10, ἔξω τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου...ἵνα κἀγὼ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἱλαρὰ σταθεῖσα λόγον ἀποδῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν.

Of greater importance than the proof that Hermas knew

the *Didaché* is the discovery of his way of using his authorities. He allegorises, he disintegrates, he amalgamates. He plays upon the sense or varies the form of a saying, he repeats its words in fresh combinations or replaces them by synonyms, but he will not cite a passage simply and in its entirety. This must be taken into account in estimating the value of the *Shepherd* as a witness to the canonical Books of the New Testament.

C. TAYLOR.

ON *NE* PROHIBITIVE WITH THE SECOND PERSON OF THE PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE IN CLASSICAL LATIN.

It has been known ever since the appearance of the second volume of Madvig's Opuscula (sec II. p. 105 foll.) that the use of *nē* prohibitive with the second Person of the Subjunctive, as *ne putes* 'do not think', though common enough in the language of Plautus and Terence, was dead in the classical language of Cicero and his contemporaries. In one idiom, however, it still survived; and, probably through the use of the Second Person Present Subjunctive in generalised commands, the same form was continued in generalised prohibitions: 'isto bono utare dum adsit: cum absit, ne requiras': 'Let us use our good, while we have it; not regret it when it has left us[1]'.

[1] It seems clear that *ne requiras* is the negative of the 'imperative' use of the subjunctive (cf. *μὴ ζητήσῃς*) rather than of the 'potential' (cf. *οὐκ ἂν* (or *οὐ*) *ζητήσαις*). For, though there is undoubtedly some fluctuation in the use of the negative particles (Draeger *Hist. Synt.* I² pp. 310 foll., R. Kühner *Lat. Gr.* II pp. 145 foll. and J. E. Nixon *Journal of Philology* VII p. 56), it is *non* that appears to replace *ne*, not vice versa. Secondly, the fading out of the personal element in these expressions—marked in the 'potential' use by the invariable omission of *tu* (Madv. *Lat. Gr.* § 370 obs. 2; cf. Seeley on Liv. Praef. 10), except where the relations of the assumed second person are emphasised, as in Ter. *Hec.* 1. 6. 79 'reddi patri autem quoi *tu* nil dicas uiti superbumst' 'for a man to send a girl back to her father when *he* has nothing to find fault with is an arrogant proceeding',—is found also in the case of the *Imperative*. Though this idiom must be regarded as already dead in Classical Latin, several phrases have survived to attest that in the imperative also the second person could be generalised. Such are *scīlicet*=sci, licet, lit. *know, it is permissible*, *ī-licet* (explained by the grammarians as ire licet), *fac* in the sense of 'suppose', *puta* 'imagine'. In *Journal of Philol.* XVII 234 I have pointed out a use of *tolle* (in Cat. 68. 142) which approaches closely to *tollendum*, the personal reference having disappeared.

Apart from this idiom, that is, in prohibitions addressed to a *definite* person, nē appears to be found with the Second Person Present Subjunctive in only four passages:

1. Cicero *ad Att.* IX 18. 'tu, malum actum ne agas', on which Madvig *l.c.* well says 'habet speciem proverbialis formae ex antiquo sermone servatae'. The popular maxim: Let 'done with' be 'done with', is here applied to a particular person. 'Let me remind you of the truth of the proverb, not to do what is done already'.

2. Hor. *Sat.* II 3 88. 'siue ego recte, seu praue, | hoc uolui; ne sis patruus mihi.' The explanation here is similar. We have the proverbially cruel uncle (father's brother) as in the 'Babes of the Wood'; cf. 'patruae uerbera linguae' Hor. *Od.* III. 12 2, and other places. We might even imagine the precise form of the proverb as: patre uiuo ne sis patruus 'don't come out in your true colours too soon'.

3. Pers. *S.* 3. 96. 'ne sis mihi tutor' is imitated from the last passage and similar thereto: "don't play 'the guardian' with me".

4. Cic. *Att.* XIV. 1 'tu, quaeso, quicquid noui (multa autem expecto) scribere ne pigrere' is somewhat different. Madvig supposes *ne* depends on *quaeso*. I prefer to regard Cicero as quoting from some ancient writer, perhaps Lucilius or, what comes to the same, himself archaising for the occasion[1]. The derivatives of *piger* seem to belong to the older language. *pigror* is found nowhere else: *pigro* act. is only quoted from Lucretius and two passages of Accius' plays: *pigreo* only from Ennius and Accius: *pigror* (n.) only from Lucilius. It is not to be left out of sight that 'scribere ne pigrere' forms part of a Hexameter[2].

J. P. POSTGATE.

[1] We cannot be too careful in observing that what is in Cicero is often not of Cicero. Against concealed archaisms and quotations we must be ever on our guard. Let Cic. de Fin. II. 7 22, 'atqui reperiemus asotos primum ita non religiosos ut edint de patella,' serve as an example.

[2] Is it too fanciful to compare this phrase with the words which Horace applies to *Lucilius*, 'piger scribendi ferre laborem' S. I. 4 12 and to conjecture that Hor. is turning a phrase of Lucilius against him?

GEORGIC I. 263.

Aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit acervis.

Much difficulty has been felt by the commentators on this line, because it has always (so far as I know) been translated "he either brands his cattle or numbers his heaps of corn." *Impressit* is supposed to be carried on by *zeugma* to *acervis*, and *acervis* to imply sacks or bins of corn. What now seems to me the true interpretation is clearly suggested by the note of Servius, *facit aut characteras, quibus pecora signantur, aut tesseras, quibus frumentorum numerus designatur.* In other words, "he stamps a seal for (marking) his cattle, or tickets for "(numbering) his heaps of corn." *Signum* is the *character* or seal for marking the hot pitch used in branding cattle. No instance of *imprimere signum* in the sense of stamping a seal (or making a stamp) is quoted in the lexicons, but there seems nothing in such a phrase which violates Latinity. *Numeri* I suppose would mean tickets of lead or some soft metal, stamped with different numbers.

H. NETTLESHIP.

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